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A SHORT
HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.



JOHN KIRBY HEDGES.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

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1890.



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A SHORT
HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD,
ANCIENT, MEDIÆVAL, AND MODERN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
RAMBLES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

BY
JOHN KIRBY HEDGES.

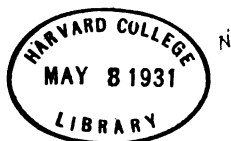
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P R E F A C E.

THIS short history is designed to meet a long-felt want for a cheap edition of the work published in two volumes twelve years ago, while the concluding chapter of Rambles in the Neighbourhood may prove useful to the numerous visitors who make this attractive district their holiday resort. The book has been almost entirely re-written in the endeavour to compress within a small space the history of a town which has played from the earliest times a conspicuous part in many events of great national importance ; and although new matter has been introduced, and the vexed question of identity with the Calleva of the Roman Itineraries revived, it is hoped the limits of a readable little book have not been exceeded, and that the price at which it is offered will render it generally acceptable, specially to those who are locally interested.

WALLINGFORD CASTLE,
1893.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

WALLINGFORD—BRITISH.

THE history of Wallingford and its immediate neighbourhood carries us back to a remote period, and shows a connection more or less intimate with the Celtic Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes ; while in Norman and mediæval times, the town and castle hold a foremost place in the annals of our national history. Opinions but slightly differ respecting the etymology of the name. Camden supposes it was derived from the British words *Gual Hen*, signifying the old fortification, with the addition in after-times of the word *Forde*. *G* and *W* being in Saxon identical, we get "Wallingford." Dr. Charnock derives the name from Gualengaford, the ford or passage of the Gauls. Pointer, in his "*Britannia Romana*," states, "The Emperor Gallienus was here in person, and gave name to the town, the old Roman city Caleva or Gallena, signifying Wallien- or Gallien- ford." In the "*Making of England*," Green refers to Wallingford as the ford of the Wealkas or Welchmen ; "thus," he adds, "the old ford of the British or Welch Wealkas-ing-ford may have become changed to the Saxon Wallingas-ford, and thence to Wallingford."

There can be little doubt that Wallingford was a fortress in, if not all through, British time, and that the irregular earthworks of the Britons were altered and replaced by the rectangular entrenchments of the Romans, which may now be traced with so much interest around the town. Traces of British settlements can be discovered on the neighbouring downs in several places.

Ancient tracks and fords go far to show the occupation of a district, and here we have, on the south and east of the town, the two Portways and the Icknield Way (Upper and Lower), which was one of the four national trackways constructed, according to Jeffrey, by King Belinus some four centuries before Christ. It was the ancient travelling-road of the Britons from east to west.

Coins, chronologically speaking, also afford reliable data, and here, close to the town and within a radius of three or four miles, many gold and silver British coins, inscribed and uninscribed, have been found. Between thirty and forty of them were in the cabinets of the late Mr. W. H. Davies, of Wallingford, F.N.S., up to the time of his death, and there was one of especial interest—namely, Eppillus, son of Comius, who is supposed to have reigned over the Atrebates in Berkshire, succeeding to the dominions on the death of his brother Verica. It was discovered in 1886, near the cemetery. Referring to the vexed question of the true site of Caleva, Sir John Evans states, "Had a discovery of the coins of Eppillus taken place at Silchester, it would do much towards the satisfactory identification of Caleva with Silchester." May we not, by a parity of reason, apply the same argument to Wallingford, where also in the neighbourhood have been found gold coins ascribed to the two brothers of Eppillus, Tincommius and Verica? A silver coin has also been found inscribed "Veric," bearing on the obverse the figure of a horse only. Two coins are figured in Camden as having been found "hereabouts" inscribed "Rex Calle." I have an interesting gold coin of the Macedonian Phillippus, which was found about half a mile from the town on the north. Coins of this type were adopted as a model for imitation, and, Sir John Evans tells us, are beyond all doubt the earliest of the British series, the date assigned to them being somewhere between 150 and 200 years B.C. If we could find two or three more of these coins, great weight would be given to the assertion of Whitaker, that "the art of coining was practised by the Atrebates at their capital Calleda, Caleva, or Wallingford." Most of the coins above referred to are figured in Sir John Evans's book on the coins of the ancient Britons.*

* At the recent sale by auction of Mr. Davies's valuable coins by

In another work of the same learned author, "The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain," we shall find upwards of twenty engravings of various descriptions of celts, palstaves, swords, spear-heads, daggers, chisels, and other relics which have been discovered in and around the town.

But another discovery within recent years, for which we are chiefly indebted to the persevering research of the late Mr. Davies, adds greatly to the weight of evidence in support of early British occupation. Flint implements and weapons by hundreds have been found, showing the existence of Palæolithic man in this immediate neighbourhood, and many of them have been objects of great interest in Mr. Davies's cabinets. Some of them are of very rude construction, while others exhibit a gradual advance in mechanical ingenuity, and seem to carry us through various gradations, from the savage who occupied the district with the mammoth and other extinct animals, to a race of men of far higher culture, and some of whose flint-chipping is a marvel of skill. These relics consist of hammers, hatchets, sling stones, borers, scrapers, pot-boilers, knives, spear and arrow heads, etc. Many of them are ground and polished, most of them of white flint, not generally of a large size, and these belong to a later, the Neolithic, age. Thus we get a variety of implements for domestic use and for the purposes of war and the chase, some in an unfinished state, while others wear the appearance of broken tools. If we add to these the numberless cores, flakes, and chips that have been found, we are led to suppose that this district must have been the site of a large settlement of workers, who carried on here a manufacturing industry of great extent. Many specimens of bones and horns of animals, which were used as the material for the more simple implements, have also been dug up in the vicinity of the town.

Mr. H. Stokes, F.G.S., on inspecting Mr. Davies's collection, observed that many of the tools and weapons, which had evidently been in a perfect state and highly polished, were unskilfully chipped and rudely converted into an

Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, the above-mentioned coin of Eppillus realized £49 10s.; that of Verica, £4; and Tincommius, Veric, and Cunobiline, £9 15s.

implement of quite a different type. This retrogression in civilization he imputes to the barbarous foreigner, who had vanquished the more civilized tribe, and had not the necessary intelligence to handle and use the perfect tools and weapons of the conquered race. This discovery appears to supply a link in the chain of evidence that connects the invasion of foreign settlers with this district.

WALLINGFORD—ROMAN.

Wallingford, described in the Norman Survey as the chief town of Berkshire, owes its importance to its ancient ford across the river Thames, and to its geographical position. The Icknield Way, before mentioned, was doubtless utilized by the Romans, and was connected, as was clearly the Portway, with this ford, of the existence of which for more than fifteen hundred years there is satisfactory proof. Surrounded on all sides by lofty hills, the Chilterns, the open chalk downs, with Sinodun and their British earthworks, the situation afforded military advantages which naturally attracted the keen eye of the Romans, who afterwards made themselves masters of both sides of the river. It is by no means improbable that they were directed into this Atrebatian district by Comius, who was king of the Atrebates in Gaul, and must have been closely identified with the Berkshire tribe. He was sent over to this country by Cæsar before the first expedition to dispose the people to Roman rule, and Cæsar himself writes that Comius had great influence with the Atrebates here, as well as among his own countrymen in Gaul. Upon the retreat of the Romans, Comius was left behind as an agent of Cæsar, and he was in Britain during Cæsar's second expedition.

There is a tradition that the river-bank at Wallingford was the scene of a battle between Julius Cæsar and the British general. Some are of opinion that, after subduing Cassivellaunus, the Roman invader extended his march to Wallingford, relying perhaps upon the passage in King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius, which runs as follows: "After that he (Cæsar) had conquered them (the Galli), he went to the island Bryttaine and fought with the Brits, and was put to flight in the land that is called

Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought with the Brits again in Kentland, and they were put to flight. Their third fight was nigh the river that is called Tamese, nigh the ford which is called Wellingaford. After that fight there submitted to him the king and burghmen that were in Cyrncestre and afterwards all that were in the island." The better opinion appears to be that the words, "their third fight," refer to the more complete subjugation of Britain under Aulus Plautius, and that the king, perhaps for brevity sake, compressed in a few lines the main events that led to the conquest of the island, without being sufficiently minute as respects the detail. Whatever may be the issue of this and other controversial points, the evidence of a lengthened Roman occupation, we may say, continuously for four hundred years is very strong. Numberless Roman coins have been found in the town and its immediate surroundings, representing, with a few unimportant exceptions, every reign from that of the first Emperor Augustus down to the time when the Romans ceased to hold sway in this country.

In the bed of the river, near the spot which still retains its ancient name "Cæsar's Ford," was found, some few years ago, a two-edged Roman sword; spear-heads and various other Roman relics have also been discovered. When forming a road in the castle grounds in 1859, a rudely worked urn or vase was found encased in a small arched recess, constructed of thin red bricks, very heavy for their size, and tiles. The urn was filled with charcoal and small bones, and what is supposed to have been the skull of a rabbit or a hare—most probably the latter, for the rabbit does not appear to have been an inhabitant of this island at the time of the Roman occupation, whereas the hare was an animal of augury among the Britons, and never hunted nor killed for the table, but kept for the purpose of divination. We may, therefore, give to this urn a date previous to the time of the Romans.

About 1821, some subterranean vaults and passages were excavated in the castle grounds, the masonry of which was pronounced to be undoubtedly Roman.

Nearly a century passed after the retreat of Cæsar, and the Roman eagles again appeared in this neighbourhood.

Aulus Plautius was the general, and, according to Guest and other authorities, the great battle of the campaign was fought at or near Wallingford. The passage in King Alfred's translation of Orosius quoted before is almost decisive on the point.

Much is said in the work which furnishes materials for this shorter history, not only to show the Roman connection from the earliest to the latest period of Roman occupation, but that Wallingford was the site of the famous Calleva, or Caleva, Atrebatum mentioned in the Itineraries, or more properly of the Calcua or Nalcua of Ptolemy, upon which they are based. This latter point, however, is one upon which considerable difference of opinion exists, many writers of the present day contending that Silchester is the site upon which the great Atrebatian capital once stood.

At first sight there is a good deal to be said in favour of this view. One's thoughts at once light on the remains of the great city, surrounded by massive walls, now undergoing exploration; here, it is natural to exclaim, must have been the great military fortress Calleva. Undoubtedly an important Roman city existed at Silchester, and occupied the site of a British town; but the question is, Was that city the Calleva of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which carries us back to the earlier stages of Roman occupation? The ground-plan of the city presents a very irregular octagon, without any approach to the rectangular form of the Romans. The history of Calleva is a blank, and we must go to the geographical survey of Ptolemy as the foundation for any opinion we may form. His survey of Britain, made under a decree of the Senate, was published about A.D. 115, and his description was written not long after the Romans had subdued the southern part of the Island, while the ancient names and native territories were retained. He gives the names of fifty-six towns and the geographical position of the states, and he places Calleva immediately between Corinium, the chief city of the Dobuni, and Londinium, one of the cities of the Cantii, which exactly corresponds with the position of Wallingford. There is a general consensus of opinion that Calcua or Nalcua and the Calleva of the Itineraries refer to one and the same place. In many editions of Ptolemy maps are introduced, in nearly

all of which *Calcua* is placed close to the river Thames in the Atrebatian territory, at about the spot now occupied by Wallingford; whereas *Vindomis*, as *Silchester*, is placed some miles from the river on the south, in the district *Belgæ*.

We are told by Nennius, Henry of Huntingdon, and others, that the ancient name of the site on which *Silchester* is built was *Cœer Segeint*, or *Segon*, a name that appears to signify that it was the chief town of the *Segontiaci*. *Segontium* occurs frequently on the coins of *Cunobeline*, and it is recorded by Professor John Ward that no less than six altars dedicated to *Hercules*, who was the tutelary divinity of the state of the *Segontiaci*, have been discovered at *Silchester*, one of which, dug up in 1782, is inscribed to "*Hercules of the Segontiaci*." Sir Robert Colt Hoare and Dr. Becke date the destruction of *Cœer Segon* near the end of the third century, when *Asclepiodoteus* the præfect came over to Britain to suppress the usurpation of *Allectus*.

No actual definition of the tribal boundary has been satisfactorily shown either as respects the *Segontiaci*, which is said to have been an unimportant tribe, the *Atrebates* or the *Belgæ*. "*The Belgæ*," says Horsley, in agreement with many others, "must be the people of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire; the *Atrebates*, a people chiefly of Berkshire." It seems, therefore, inconsistent to call the Hampshire *Silchester*, the chief town of the *Atrebates*. Situated in the extreme northern limit of the county of Hants, in the midst of a dense and extensive forest, it has been more appropriately called "*The pleasant camp in the woods*." It possessed no natural advantages likely to attract the Roman arms, or render it a suitable site for an important military station such as *Calleva Atrebatum* must have been. Five times is *Calleva* mentioned as a station in the *Itinerary*, and as the starting-point or the terminus in four of them. The construction of the *viâ militaris* of the Romans was coincident with the gradual subjugation of the island. The course of them was determined by military considerations, and as the Plantian campaign took place near Wallingford, and opened up all the southern portion of Britain, it would not be unreasonable to infer that this district of the battle-field, the river and the ford, would have been one of

the first selected for the construction of military roads and the improvement of the old British ways around the town. So far as the explorations have gone, they all point to the fact that Silchester did not belong to the period of progressive Roman conquest, but to the settled era of peace. Traces of the forum, the large basilica with its rows of shops, corridors, villas, mosaic floors, with an elaborate system of hot-air flues, baths, etc., do not carry us back to the earlier Roman times, but rather confirm the opinion that the situation was selected as central and convenient for fiscal purposes and the advancement of civil government at a time when the arts and sciences, the customs and luxury, of Rome had taken root among the native population.

But let us quote a high authority. Mr. St. John Hope, who has so greatly interested himself in the exploring works in progress, remarked in his lecture at Reading last year that "The Romans occupied Silchester, not as a camp, not as a military station at all, but as a city with just such an ordinary, quiet, everyday existence as the town of Reading." But still the place is called Calleva. Now, Calleva was placed at Wallingford, and Vindomis at Silchester, by nearly all the learned historians and topographers down to the time of Horsley, who, in reviewing in his great work "*Britannia Romana*" the comparative claims of the two places, and admitting that he was singular in his opinion with respect to the situation of Calleva, closes his remarks by saying, "I think Silchester must be it." Well might the learned author have expressed himself in somewhat undecided terms, for there is no place in the *Itinerary of Antoninus* that has been so often shifted as Calleva, and even at the present time there are no less than nine aspirants for the honour of possessing the famous name.

The foundation of Horsley's opinion rests principally upon the statement of distances in the seventh *Iter of Antoninus*, and those who have followed him in recent times seem to have adopted his theory unchallenged. So far as I can judge from what has been advanced, there is nothing to show, even remotely, the identity of Silchester with the Calleva of Antoninus. A recent writer, endorsing Horsley's opinion, rejects Wallingford and other suggested sites because they do not agree with the *Antonine Itinerary*, wherein (seventh

Iter) Silchester is described as being one-third of the way between Venta Belgarum (Winchester) and London, thus—

Venta Belgarum	...	...	M.P.
Calleva	...	...	XXII.
Pontibus	...	...	XXII.
London	...	...	XXII.

There is certainly no want of agreement here, but let us see what reliance can be placed upon the Iter itself. In two of the other Iters in which Calleva is mentioned as a station (XII. and XV.), Vindomis occurs as an intermediate stage between Venta Belgarum and Calleva; whereas in Iter VII. Vindomis is altogether omitted—we may assume by mistake—because, with the addition of Vindomis, the three Iters fairly agree, and in the Lyons copy of Antoninus the total mileage is CXV., which, exceeding the XCVI. in Iter VII., is a strong corroboration. The difficulty of reconciling these Iters appears to have occurred to Horsley, who was driven to the expedient of taking Vindomis to Farnham, and of retaining the direct route from Silchester to Winchester as well; and thus is mapped out, in the shape of a triangle, a road of no less than forty-one miles long to get from and to a place of which little or nothing is known till late Saxon times, and which Horsley himself speaks of as a “side station, and mentioned as it were by-the-by.” Is it likely that so unimportant a place would have had an independent military road of more than forty miles in length, and who would ever think of taking Farnham in his way from Silchester to Winchester?

A word or two upon the thirteenth Iter, which has an important bearing on the disputed question. It is a route from Caerleon through Cirencester and Spinis to Calleva. The Spinis of Horsley is Speenhamland, which adjoins Newbury, and the distance between that place and Cirencester in statute miles in a direct line is thirty-six miles, as against the XV. M.P. in the Iter. To account for this discrepancy, the numerals have been added to and altered. A station has been omitted, and Horsley converts the XV. M.P. opposite Spinis into XXXV. Now, it seems that a much more feasible solution of the difficulty is presented by placing Spinis at the “Slad” on the north side of the

huge forest, instead of at Speenhamland on the south. The Slad is contiguous to West Ilsley, and near the ancient roads which traverse the downs, and to many of the neighbouring dykes and entrenchments, and there is abundant evidence for the belief that a Roman town existed there. The forest referred to occupied the entire valley of the Kennet, embracing all the district of Speen, and it is not conceivable that the Romans, who invariably avoided, if possible, carrying their roads through thick extensive forests, would have penetrated such a dense forest as this must have been, when the Icknield Ways and the Portway running over the open downs in the direction towards Wallingford were ready made to their hands, and must have been actually crossed in a march southward. The name Spinis, or "Spinæ, the thorns," is equally appropriate whether the Roman station was on the north or south of the forest. Couple these facts with the absence of the slightest trace of a Roman road pointing to Speenhamland, either in a direction from Cirencester or Marlborough (Iter XIV.), and the want of anything approaching identity in the numerals, and the conclusion is forced upon us that Spinis has been misplaced on the south instead of on the north of the forest. If Spinis be rightly transferred, the case of Wallingford is materially strengthened. The line of road from Caerleon to that place as Calleva would be much more direct, and the distances would far better agree with those in the Itinerary.

I think it must be admitted that too much reliance has been placed on the unsupported figures in the Iters. The Itinerary was a parchment roll designed as a directory to the Roman troops in their marches, and was transmitted down from one emperor and general to another for a period of about one hundred and eighty years. It consequently contained numerous alterations and additions, some of which directly conflict with the earlier text, and many of the Iters as they stand are perfectly unintelligible. Indeed, Horsley, in making his theories "exact enough," has altered the figures in many instances. His valuable work is dated from Morpeth, in Northumberland, where he is supposed to have lived, and it may be that he possessed but little local knowledge of this southern neighbourhood. That he had a very imperfect notion about the existence of the

Icknield Way is clear from his admission that he was quite at a loss about it. Now, this way has been known and the name handed down to us from the earliest period. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle it is written "Icenhilde wég." At the present time the Upper and Lower Icknield (called sometimes Icknield Street and Old Street) may be distinctly traced along the downs on the south and west of Wallingford, and under the Chiltern Hills on the east.

A cursory inspection of the southern section of the old maps will show how large a tract of important country there is, embracing the valley of the Thames, over which no Iter is marked. This large gap has been to some extent supplied by the later Itinerary, miscalled "Richard of Cirencester," a work that has been rejected as a forgery and unauthentic. Still, there is much in it that is capable of absolute proof, and I refer to the work as confirmatory of what has been previously stated. It describes three different Iters in which Calleva occupies a position at or near Wallingford. In Iter XV. Vindomis intervenes between Calleva and Venta Belgarum, and Calleva is described as the capital of the Atrebatas near the Thames, in distinction from that of the Segontiaci, whose capital, Vindomis, is described as being further distant from that river, and nearer the Kennet.

In Iter XVIII. the later stations are—

Ælia Castra	M.P.	Alcester.
Doricina	XV.	Dorchester.
Tamesi	VI.	On Thames near Wallingford.
Vindomi	XV.	Silchester.
Clausento	XXXI.	Southampton.

It is clear, by the actual distance and the fifteenth Iter, that Tamesi and Calleva mean one and the same place, the position of the Roman station being on the south of the town.

"The great road or Roman way from Allchester to Wallingford leadeth over Otmoore," is the description in a grant of land, 34 Henry II. Camden mentions "the Roman way cast up between Alcester and Wallingford." Other authorities state, "The Roman way from Allchester to Wallingford passeth through the hamlet of Baldon, and

so goes on to Dorchester ;” and Dr. Plot traced the road and established the correctness of the above route from his own observation, as he did also the Roman way from Venta Belgarum and “so to Calleva, now Wallingford.”

THE SAXONS AND DANES.

Wallingford is rarely mentioned by name during the interval between the invasion of the Saxons and that of the Danes, but Bensington, just across the river, is frequently mentioned. In A.D. 571, that “city” and other adjacent places were gained by the Saxons, and Dr. Freeman observes that “Wallingford must have been taken in this expedition when Cuthwulf crossed the Thames, and whose capture must have been marked as a bright day in the annals of the West Saxon victory.” Five or six years afterwards, the Saxons, having secured the rich country along the Avon and Severn, again penetrated the valley of the Thames in their advance along the river to London. Wallingford lay in their way, but it was a stronghold then probably in their hands, and at the close of the sixth century the whole of the western part of the island had been subdued by the Saxons.

In the year 661, Wulfhere, who, on the fall of his father, King Penda, was chosen King of Mercia, committed great ravages in these parts as far as Æscendun, which must have brought him in or near the town, the situation of Æscendun being the hilly down above Aston.

Wallingford was again in the midst of the conflict in or about 716, when, under the reign of Ethelbald, began Mercia’s fiercest struggle for the complete supremacy of the south. The king so extended his territory that he styled himself King of Britain. A desperate battle at Burford, in Oxfordshire, in 752, ended in his defeat, and Cuthred, King of Wessex, recovered a great part of his lost dominions. Two years after the death of Cuthred, the young and valorous Mercian prince, Offa, resolved to recover the county of Oxford and enlarge his kingdom to the north of the Thames. The district of the “four towns,” of which Bensington was one, was the great centre of contention. This town he besieged and took in 779, and, according to

the chronicle of the Monastery of Abingdon, Wallingford was also seized and taken.

Offa died in 796. The old strife with Wessex was renewed, and Egbert, King of the West Saxons, received the submission of all England south of the Thames, and in 827 gained the kingdom of Mercia.

It is singular that, in recording the fierce and frequent encounters that took place in this neighbourhood, Wallingford should be so seldom expressly mentioned. As a fortified border town, situated in the midst of the distracted country, it must have had its share in the reverses and successes that attended the movements of the contending hosts; but the chief source of our information is the Saxon Chronicle, which is remarkable for the brevity with which it summarizes the events it records.

We next find the Danes in these parts with strong reinforcements. They marched into Oxfordshire, where Beorhtwulf, who governed Mercia under the title of king, and had his court at Bensington, gave them battle. His defeat and flight encouraged the hardy race, who crossed the river, probably by the ford at Wallingford, and devastated the whole country. Terrified Mercia acknowledged them as overlords in 870; but their onward course was checked in 871, when they sustained a crushing defeat at the great battle of Ashdown, referred to hereafter.

After several years of peace the enemy returned, and our Thames valley was again their line of march. But we will pass on to the year 1006. In that year the Danish army overran Hampshire and Berkshire as far as Reading, "kindling their war-beacons as they went," and then they marched to Wallingford and "burned it all down," leaving the place in ruins. They encamped for a day at the adjoining village of Cholsey, which, with its monastery, shared the same fate. From Cholsey they made their way westward along Æscendun, taking the slope of the downs by Aston, to Cwichelmes Hlœwe (Cuckhamsley hill), and passed on to the sea-coast.

King Ethelred II. sought protection by making terms with his powerful foe, who were to be allowed to settle peaceably in the land. Within a very short time the Saxons made a fresh attempt to expel the Danes, and this

perfidious act brought down upon them for fully five years the full fury of the Danish hosts, which fell heavily upon the whole valley of the Thames, particularly in this district—Oxford they fired, and destroyed Abingdon, Clifton Hampden, and Bensington, and burnt down part of Dorchester. Passing the ruins of Wallingford, which had not then been rebuilt, they marched onwards on their road to Staines. Another treacherous act on the part of the West Saxons, who rose and pitilessly massacred the defenceless Danes, brought over to England in 1013 Sweyn, King of Denmark, with a formidable army of freebooters. They marched into the Mercian district abutting on the Thames, when an order went forth, which led to an excess of barbarity, by way of retaliation, seldom if ever before equalled. Plundering, burning, and butchering marked the course of the king and his exasperated subjects to Oxford and other places; but at length, at London, they were repulsed by King Ethelred, and retreated to Wallingford, which they took, and made their way westward to Bath, where all Wessex gave in their submission.

In 1016 we trace the Danish forces under Canute and Eadric, Earl of Mercia, who perfidiously joined him, making their way "with infinite fury and spoil" from the Lower to the Upper Thames, as far as Cricklade. The exact line of march is not mentioned, but, if they traversed our valley, it is probable the prostrate condition of the town saved the inhabitants from further outrage.

John de Wallingford, Prior of Holy Trinity, referring to the lower classes about the time of King Edgar, remarks, "It is curious to observe that it was deemed a mark of censurable luxury that the Danes, who were kept in pay by Æthelstan and Edgar, combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and changed their clothes frequently." Let us hope the prior was not one of those who regarded personal ablution and cleanliness on the part of the lower classes as a form of censurable self-indulgence.

Coins were minted at Wallingford so early as the reign of Æthelstan, A.D. 925; also in the reigns of Edgar, Æthelred, and Canute the first—in the latter reign, in large numbers, there being four distinct types, with the names of four different moneyers. The coinage was considerable with three



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moneyers in the reign of Harold I. ; and in that of Edward the Confessor there were no less than seven different moneyers, the coins bearing their names as well as the place of mintage. Harold II. also coined here. Canute's mint at Wallingford and that of Harold I. were styled Weli, Welin, and Wel. All these coins are to be seen at the British Museum, with others minted at Wallingford of subsequent date, and show that the town retained its importance notwithstanding the ravages of the Danish wars.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

King Edward, who was born in the neighbouring village of Islip, had large possessions in the borough, and a passage in Domesday Book leads to the inference that at Wallingford there was some royal establishment to which he occasionally resorted. "In the Burgh of Wallingford King Edward had fifteen acres on which his huscarles dwelt." The term "huscardi" is connected with the occupants of a barrack or garrison, and it is not improbable they were military retainers headed by Wigod of Wallingford, the noble thane who held high office in the Confessor's household, and had his abode at Wallingford, which, at his instance, was created by the king a royal burgh. Wigod is first mentioned in this reign as the possessor of a vast estate, and is called the "anti-conquestal proprietor of the Castle and Honour of Wallingford."

King Edward's mint at Wallingford is mentioned in Domesday Book. On the coins are impressed "Wa, Wal, Wali, Walin, Walli," together with the four moneyers' names. The word "Pax" appears on the reverse of many of these coins.

A discovery of an Anglo-Saxon seal of ivory, quite unique, was made in 1879, in a garden on the west side of the market-place, at a depth of about four feet. A hone and ivory comb were found close to the seal, which was in almost as fine condition as when first engraved. On the obverse is a bust with uplifted sword, bare-headed and bearded, with the inscription, "The seal of Godwin the Thane." On the reverse is a three-quarter figure of a female, with the right hand upraised, and a book in the

left, bearing the legend, "The seal of Godgytha the nun, given to God." The raised figures at the top are supposed to represent God the Father with the sceptre, and God the Son treading Hades, or sin and death, underfoot. Traces of ancient foundation walls have been met with close to the spot where the seal was found, and it may be assumed that Godgytha the nun was the superior of a convent in this town. A careful inspection of the seal shows pretty clearly that the obverse and reverse were engraved at different times and by different workmen. The letter S in Godwin's seal, which appears to be the original, is in the ordinary form, whilst that letter in the seal of Godgytha resembles a reversed Z. Mr. Franks, the great authority at the British Museum, where this highly prized seal is now deposited, is disposed to give a date to it during the reign of Edward II., 974-979, or his successor Æthelred. His interesting paper on this seal, with three fine engravings on steel, appears in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," March 17, 1881.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Six days after the battle of Hastings, Duke William began his eastward march along the south coast towards London, and, having met with a repulse at Southwark, hastily made his way to the royal town of Wallingford, where a ford and a bridge supplied safe and easy means of crossing the river, with no opposing force to bar his progress. And what brought the Norman to Wallingford? Here lived the great and powerful Wigod, Sheriff of Oxfordshire, ready to receive the Norman chief, whose progress he had favoured. Wigod was cupbearer of the Confessor at the time Duke William visited his kinsman fourteen years before, and doubtless joined the Norman barons who surrounded the king in promoting adhesion to the Norman cause; the friendship thus commenced brought the Conqueror to Wallingford, and led the great thane to throw all his influence on the side of the Norman. The victorious duke was met by the Lord of Wallingford, who delivered the town into his possession and sumptuously entertained him, probably on the very spot on which these lines are penned. Within the ancient

defences the duke rested his forces, "and here," says Freeman, "one of those vast mounds, which speak of earlier days of English victory under Edward the Unconquered, stood ready to become at William's bidding the kernel of a stronghold from which the new invader might hold Englishmen in bondage." The subjection of London was the great object of the Conqueror, and here in the territory of a friendly adherent he matured his plans, and, according to Rapin, continually sent out detachments from Wallingford to ravage the counties adjoining to London, in order to terrify the citizens, cut off their provisions, and oblige them to submit to his laws. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, met the Conqueror as the latter crossed the Thames, and, swearing fealty to him as "Sovereign," was received with the flattering appellation of "Father" and "Bishop." William's stay in Wallingford appears to have been of some duration, and at its close he gave Aldith, the daughter and heiress of Wigod, in marriage to his favourite Robert d'Oyley, one of the most eminent of Norman chieftains who accompanied the duke from Normandy, and who shared largely in the spoil of the Conquest. It is said that the alliance was an affair of policy, by which the Saxons were propitiated and the followers of the Conqueror at the same time rewarded. Leaving the domain of his faithful subject, William crossed the Thames and set foot for the first time on Mercian soil, on the old battle-ground of Bensington, where, as Freeman observes, "Angle and Saxon, now falling fast under one common bondage, had in former days fought out their border quarrels." The embarkation is supposed to have taken place from a small piece of land near the west end of the bridge, which forms a little promontory called to this day "Port Royal."

Notwithstanding the desolation that followed the Norman conquest, and the comparative destitution to which many of the chief families were reduced, in consequence of the forfeiture of their lands to the crown, the Lord of Wallingford retained his large possessions intact till a late period, and exercised very powerful influence. Several cases are recorded of landowners finding it necessary to beg or buy fresh grants of their own lands from the king through the medium of Wigod as commendator. On the death of this

great thane, his daughter succeeded to his estates, including the Honour of Wallingford, his only son Tokig having valorously fallen by the side of the king on the battle-field of Archenbrai, when defending the Conqueror during the unnatural encounter between father and son.

Soon after his coronation, the king, fearing his subjects might turn Wallingford, as they had Oxford, into a garrison against him, commanded the lord of it, Robert d'Oyley, to fortify Wallingford with a "new castle." The site selected was the stronghold, we may call it the castle, of Wigod. Eight houses were pulled down to make way for the building, which was begun in 1067, and completed before 1071. Peter Langloft remarks in his chronicle that it was built in lieu of an older castle, supposed to have been originally erected by the Romans, though utterly destroyed by the Danes.

About this time the country was suffering from the horrors of civil war, aggravated by the distress of a starving population, and, in order to prevent rebellious subjects from confederating together in nocturnal assemblies, an order was issued in 1071 which made it compulsory on the inhabitants to extinguish lights and fires in all houses at eight o'clock every evening, on the tolling of a bell called the "curfew." This custom, altered as to time, still exists. The origin of the curfew law was not, however, due to the Conqueror. It appears to have been made an established institution by King Alfred, not as a repressive measure to prevent seditious meetings, but as a signal that the time had arrived for every one to deaden their fires, extinguish their lights, and go to bed.

Robert d'Oyley is said to have founded the Priory of Wallingford (Holy Trinity), and it is generally supposed the church of St. Leonard's was repaired, if not rebuilt, at his expense. Conspiracy and revolt being still rife at this town, the Abbot of Abingdon sent men to share in the defence of the newly built castle, but, being suspected of partiality in a rebellious project, he was imprisoned in Wallingford Castle, and was one of the first celebrities confined therein.

The survey of Berkshire in Domesday Book commences with an account of Wallingford as being the most important possession of the crown within the county. A large portion of

it is occupied in recording the holdings and privileges of the various proprietors in the town and neighbourhood. The names of many distinguished persons appear, some as former owners. Among them may be mentioned King Alfred, Edward the Confessor, Earl Harold, King William I., Lanfranc the archbishop, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Dorchester, the Abbots of Abingdon, St. Albans, and Battle, Robert d'Oyley, Milo Crispin, Walter Gifard, Walter and Roger de Laci.

The enumeration of the holdings of Robert d'Oyley, who was constable of the castle, occupies many pages, and he is said to have been so powerful a man in his time that no one durst oppose him. In 1086, when the book was completed, there were 491 houses in the town, whilst the survey mentions 100 in Windsor, and only twenty-eight in Reading. Thus, after the destruction of Wallingford by the Danes in 1006, a new town larger than any in the county was formed in about eighty years. As persons were huddled together at that period in large numbers under one roof, with scanty furniture, nearly 500 houses would represent a considerable population.

Milo Crispin, the third son of Gilbert Crispin, Baron of Bec, and a follower of the Conqueror in 1066, married Maud, the daughter and heiress of Robert d'Oyley, and, succeeding in her right to the Honour of Wallingford, made the castle his principal residence, and, being constable, acquired the title of Lord of Wallingford. He had grants of divers manors in seven counties. In Buckinghamshire alone he enjoyed twenty-eight lordships, and subsequently his possessions acquired peculiar and special privileges which attached to the tenants of himself and his successors.

The mint here continued in active operation during the reign of the Conqueror.

In June, 1833, more than six thousand pennies of the Conqueror were discovered in Hampshire, about a foot below the surface. They were deposited in an oblong box, having a plain semicircular iron handle without any ornament or trace of inscription. Among the coins thus found were 237 of the mint of Wallingford.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

In this reign Wallingford market, which is mentioned in the Norman survey, was held by prescription on Saturdays ; it was afterwards changed to Sunday, and was continued to be held on that day for upwards of a century, when by royal proclamation Monday was substituted. In after-times Tuesdays and Fridays were the appointed days ; but the market on the former day fell into disuse, and that held on Friday is now alone continued. The custom of holding the market at Wallingford on Sunday was not peculiar to the town. The fair as well as the market partook of a religious character, and was generally kept on Sunday in most places, or on some high festival. The place of sale was in the immediate vicinity of the church, often in the churchyard, where the wandering friars preached to the assembled crowds, who were invited to enter and worship in the sacred building, the door of which was always kept open. As time rolled on, this blending of the sacred and secular was extended to plays and tournaments till, great abuses resulting, the custom was ultimately abolished, and the market cross, which now so often excites our veneration in town and village, marks the spot where merchant and friar afterwards met. Four annual fairs were formerly held in the town. They have all fallen into disuse except the statute fair at Michaelmas, which is principally for hiring servants.

That the market and fair were valuable and much-prized institutions is shown by the pertinacity with which the inhabitants of Wallingford endeavoured to extend their assumed right of free merchandise into the town of Abingdon, which met with very determined opposition from the monks of the abbey, who set up an exclusive privilege of a fair within their own town. The conflict commenced in this reign and was feebly continued in the reign of Henry I., who was led to believe that the abbey had no such exclusive privilege as that claimed ; but it is recorded in the chronicle of the monastery of Abingdon that, after a shallow investigation, royalty accepted a bribe offered by the abbot, and granted a charter, under which the privilege was retained till the accession of Henry II., when the conflict again broke

out, and was sufficiently serious to require the intercession of the king, as appears hereafter.

Coins were minted here in this reign, the place being styled Wal, Walice, and Walig.

HENRY I.

In 1107, the great Baron Milo Crispin died in his Castle of Wallingford. Leaving no issue, the castle and honour reverted in right of birth to Maud, his widow, who from that time was styled "Matildis Domina de Wallingford." Six years elapsed, and she was given in marriage by the king to Brien Fitzcount, who became the possessor in her right of the honour and all her large inheritance, out of which he paid to the king a fine of £166 13s. 4d. for permission to hold the office of constable of the castle and part of the lands of Nigel d'Oyley. The question of the pedigree of this Brien has been a fruitful source of controversy. In the Saxon chronicle he is called Brien, son of Count (of Brittany) Alain Tergent, but other authorities give him quite a different parentage. The charter of endowment of Reading Abbey, built by the king about the year 1125, was witnessed by this Brien, his seal bearing the legend, "Signum Brientii filii comitis de Warengaford."

In this reign there was a scarcity of small coin, and the moneyers were accused of enriching themselves by issuing false money, which brought down upon the whole body severe punishment. By royal command in 1125, all the moneyers in England were to be deprived of their hands, and subjected to other torture, because "the man that had a pound could not buy for a penny at a market." The expedient of cutting a penny in two, and thus making two halfpence, was afterwards adopted, but not in time to arrest the sentence. Coins struck at Wallingford in this reign bear the name of a new moneyer, Osulf, which suggests the probability that his predecessor was among the condemned.

A large number of charters and legal documents of Henry I. were dated at Wallingford, and among them are several relating to the market dispute between Wallingford and Abingdon. One of the most ancient records relating to

the borough is from the great roll of the Exchequer, 31 Henry I. From these rolls, called the Pipe Rolls, the earliest information after Domesday is derived. They contain particulars of the king's revenue made up by his officers or bailiffs, who were entrusted with the ferm or wardenry of the boroughs. The following is a translated extract from the roll rendered for Wallingford :—

“Brien Fitzcount renders account for the fee ferm of Wallingford. In the treasury, £39 13s. 4d. in white money ; and in the constituted liveries, 76 shillings and a halfpenny. In acquittance for the house of Emma de Hampstead, 3s. and 10d. by tale. And he owes £9 16s. 10d. white money.

“And the same renders account for 100 shillings customary offering for last year's cloak. He paid it into the treasury, and is quit. And the same owes 100 shillings for the cloak of this year customary offering (fine). And the same renders account for £15, the old aid of the borough for the third year counting back. In pardon by the king's writ to the burgesses of Wallingford £15, on account of their poverty, and (for this) he is quit.”

Similar acquittances are entered for £15 for the last year, and for £15 of the new aid.

The coins of Henry I., minted at Wallingford, bear the name Wellig, Welligni, Welling.

KING STEPHEN.

On the death of Henry I. in 1132, Stephen, his nephew, usurped the throne in violation of the oath he had taken of allegiance to Matilda (Maud), the late king's daughter, on whom her father had settled the succession. In order to support his usurpation, he took possession of many of the existing castles, and others were built by his permission, and they became the head-quarters of his unscrupulous nobles in the many years of anarchy that ensued. Although we read of the taking and retaking of castles, Wallingford is not brought prominently into notice in the early stages of the civil war ; it was not till 1139 that it became the famous centre of operations, when the Empress Maud came to England with her half-brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester, to assert her right of succession, and that of her son, after-

wards Henry II. She landed with 140 knights, and the barons were urged to aid her cause ; but they lived like independent kings within their strong castles, and were little disposed to join in the operations. Not so, however, with Brien Fitzcount ; so strongly was he attached to the cause of the empress, that immediately on her arrival he declared in her favour. His first step was to strongly fortify the castle and secure the adhesion of the town and neighbourhood ; next we find him concerting measures with the Earl of Gloucester and Miles of Gloucester for securing this stronghold ; and, having raised a numerous body of troops, he broke into active rebellion against the king, who was at that time battering the walls of Marlborough Castle. The flag of defiance which Brien had raised brought Stephen and a powerful army at once to Wallingford, his intention being to reduce the fortress by a close blockade, but its great strength frustrated the design. The king therefore, having succeeded in erecting two forts at Crowmarsh, in a meadow then and now called Barbican, immediately opposite the castle on the other side of the river, and having placed in them a large number of troops, marched hastily towards the town of Trowbridge. Whilst on his march thither, the bold Miles rode into Wallingford at night, with a chosen body of soldiers, and made such a furious attack on the troops at Crowmarsh that they were forced to yield, and Miles returned to his own castle with the glory of a brilliant victory. The surrender was but temporary, and the forts were strengthened from time to time and became a formidable fortress. In 1140, the king again failed in his attempt to compel the castle to surrender, and a crowd of sieges, pillages, and burnings followed, till at length the famous battle of Lincoln took place on the 2nd of February, 1141. The empress had secured herself in Wallingford Castle, but, being too closely pent up there, she found means to retire to Lincoln, and Stephen at once formed the design of surprising her at that place, and would have succeeded in taking his rival had she not contrived to escape just at the critical time. The king and the Earl of Gloucester were then left alone, and commanded their troops in person. Success attended the earl. The city was sacked, and the king taken

a prisoner ; he was conducted to the castle of Bristol, where he was placed in close confinement and treated with great indignity. And now great successes attended the empress. Castle after castle was won, and she was in actual possession of by far the greater part of England. Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, cardinal legate, who was Stephen's brother, had joined Matilda soon after the battle of Lincoln, and at his city she was proclaimed queen, and for eight months was acknowledged as sovereign by a large part of the nation, though she was never crowned, and Stephen, though a prisoner, never abdicated. Professor Freeman, however, states that she was not actually called "Queen," but "Lady." At length reverses followed in quick succession. Her haughtiness to the citizens of London caused a conspiracy to be formed to seize her person, and she only escaped the fury of the populace by a precipitate flight to Reading, where Robert d'Oyley met her and arranged for delivering up the castle of Oxford, of which he was governor. Next, the Bishop of Winchester changed sides and declared for Stephen, which so enraged the empress that she marched and besieged his castle at Winchester, assisted by her uncle, the King of the Scots, her brother Robert, and Brien, Lord of Wallingford. The result was disastrous and ended in her defeat, after a great part of the city and the new minster had been burnt down. Matilda and Brien escaped to Devizes, and thence to Oxford ; but many of her adherents were taken, and among them her brother, Earl Robert, in whose castle at Bristol Stephen was still imprisoned. His capture secured the king's release by a mutual exchange, and both leaders thus regained their liberty. The castles of Cirencester, Bampton, and Radcot, and others of Matilda's strongholds, were taken by Stephen ; and then, in the autumn of 1141, the memorable siege of Oxford took place. The empress had repaired to the castle there during her brother's absence, on a mission to bring back Prince Henry from Normandy. Suddenly Stephen appeared before the walls with a numerous body of soldiers, and furiously assaulted the castle. For three months the siege continued with great vigour, guards were placed around the castle, and a strict watch on all the avenues was kept by night and by day. At length provisions began to

fail in the garrison, and, notwithstanding the host of besiegers and carefully posted sentries, Matilda effected a marvellous escape. Some say she was let down from a tower by ropes; others, that she passed through a small postern with the connivance of one of the guards. At any rate, she issued forth in the dead of night, unmolested, accompanied by three trusted knights, all clothed in white garments, probably thrown over their armour for disguise. The ground was covered with snow, the river was frozen hard, and for several miles she and her attendants made their toilsome way over snow and ice till Wallingford was reached, and she secured herself in her castle there. According to the legend of Reading Abbey, Sir Ingelric of Huntercombe was one of the loyal and fearless knights who had guarded the empress in her escape. His manorhouse at Huntercombe, within sight of Wallingford Castle, had been fired at the time when the flames of the civil war were raging all around, and his wife was sacrificed in the fearful conflagration that ensued. Brien Fitzcount had accompanied the empress to Oxford, and, probably escaping during the siege, had repaired to his own castle at Wallingford, where many barons had assembled to give Stephen battle. Brien, doubtless aware of the intentions of the empress, sallied forth with a body of horse to meet her, but abandoned his pursuit on learning from an aged shepherd, who had been searching for some sheep lost in the snowdrifts, that about midnight he had seen gliding along the road five ghosts or revenants in white, which he supposed were the uneasy spirits of some who had perished in the daily slaughter. The Castle of Oxford surrendered on the terms offered by Stephen on the morning after the escape. The king did not follow his foe to Wallingford, but the flames of civil war broke out with greater violence than ever in other places, and almost universal anarchy and desolation reigned in England. At Wilton the king would have been taken prisoner by the earl but for the stand that was made by his faithful seneschal, William Martel, who held out till the king and his brother, the bishop, had made their escape. Martel was taken prisoner and committed to the custody of Brien at his Castle of Wallingford—that terrible stronghold which, it is said, few men could mention without turning

pale. Here an inner prison or dungeon was built, called Cloere Brien, or Brien's close, the better to secure his prisoner, who was not to be released till he had consented to deliver up for his ransom the Castle of Shirburne and the large tract of country attached to it, which was considered to be one of the keys of the realm. In this inner dungeon Martel was doomed to suffer. The lustre of the famous name of Brien Fitzcount was darkened by his participation in the revolting usages of the time. His castle was filled with prisoners, who were subjected to daily tortures in order to make them disclose their supposed hidden treasures, or to pay the heaviest ransom they had the means of bearing. Night after night, we read, the townsfolk were startled in their sleep by the shrieks and cries issuing from the grim castle. Such were the horrors of the dungeons and outrages of the times, that men were hanged by their feet, some by their thumbs, others by the head, with burning things attached. Many were forced into short and narrow chests, in which sharp stones were placed and their limbs broken. Thousands were afflicted with hunger; famine and pestilence raged throughout the land. Still the civil war continued, and many were the excesses committed by Brien's soldiers, upon whom little or no restriction was placed. Their predatory sallies and acts of hostility upon the lands and tenants of Henry Bishop of Winchester provoked his displeasure, and Brien was threatened with excommunication in a sharp letter, to which the baron as sharply replied, upbraiding the bishop with deserting the cause of the empress and justifying the necessity of his soldiers' plunder. In the result, however, it appears that all Brien's lands were seized to the use of King Stephen.

In 1146, several attacks were made on the castle and town, which continued to be the stronghold of the empress. Randolph Earl of Chester had now joined the royal side, and came to the king's assistance with three hundred horse, but their united forces were powerless to reduce the place. The king then repaired and strengthened the forts at Crowmarsh and retreated, leaving the Earl of Chester with a strong body to surround the town and oblige the garrison to surrender for want of supplies. All these

attempts were baffled by the skill and perseverance of the Lord of Wallingford. It is said that Brien's wife, Maud d'Oyley, took a prominent part in all the valiant actions of her husband on behalf of the empress, "inheritynge the spirit of her ancestours."

Robert Earl of Gloucester, who had some time previously brought over from Normandy to Wallingford his nephew Prince Henry, died in 1147, and Matilda retired to Normandy soon after.

In 1152, a compromise for raising the blockade of the town was agreed on between King Stephen and Prince Henry by the intervention of their friends; but the faithless king, disregarding the treaty, renewed the closer siege of Wallingford, and was again compelled to retreat. After this repulse, Stephen, nothing daunted, recruited his forces and returned to the siege of the castle with greater determination than ever, and on this occasion with much better success than all his previous efforts, for he reduced the castle and town to such an extremity by cutting off the supplies that a surrender was contemplated, and an earnest request was sent to Prince Henry, who had returned to Normandy, to come over to the relief of the garrison. The blockade was effected by means of several additional forts, one of which was erected at the head of the bridge. At this critical juncture, Prince Henry, who had assumed the title of Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, leaving his territory in France, arrived in January, 1153, with a large army, which was rendered formidable by the numbers of great men from the west and other parts who came to his standard. Thus recruited he marched directly to the relief of his mother's friends and followers at Wallingford. The enemy was unprepared to oppose his progress, and he passed unmolested through the chain of forts that Stephen had erected around the town on the Berkshire side. Finding the garrison in the castle ready to perish by famine, he revictualled it, and then blocked up the Crowmarsh forts, partly by digging deep trenches so as to prevent the soldiers there from getting supplies, while his own adherents had at their command nearly the whole range of the neighbourhood. Stephen, on hearing of Henry's approach, had withdrawn from the forts at Crowmarsh, and gone to London to procure fresh supplies of men and

money, leaving his son Eustace to carry on operations in his absence. On his return, Henry marched out of the castle to give battle to the king, who had encamped in the open field with an army more numerous than the duke's. He took by storm the fort at the end of the bridge, and thus opened a free passage over the river, and, marching onwards, pitched his tents within a quarter of a mile of Stephen's camp. A desperate battle was impending; but before the preparations were complete, the Earl of Arundel assembled the nobles and principal officers, and urged in an eloquent and powerful speech that the civil war should be closed by an amicable agreement, and thus the foundation of peace was laid, notwithstanding the opposition of the contending chiefs, who were forced to listen to the earl's suggestions and hold a conference. Some say it was held under the castle walls; others, in a meadow close by, with the river flowing between the opposing armies. A short suspension of arms was arranged, and the condition made that the king himself should demolish the castle of Crowmarsh. A feeble renewal of hostilities afterwards commenced, while peace negotiations were still progressing, to which Prince Eustace was the greatest opponent. In 1153 the latter died, according to the chronicle, in a frenzy of rage, and, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, the Treaty of Wallingford was concluded and formally confirmed at Westminster at the end of November in that year. It abolished the evils of the anarchy which had continued for sixteen years. Stephen was to hold the kingdom for life, and Henry to be his successor. The "adulterine castles," which had been built by the king's permission to the number of 1115, were to be demolished; the crown lands which had been alienated or usurped, resumed; and the foreign mercenaries banished from the country. The jurisdiction of the sheriffs was to be revived, and general security maintained. Thieves and robbers were to be hanged, commerce encouraged, and a uniform coinage struck. In the charter special reference was made to the submission of those who had the custody of Wallingford Castle, as if its governor and his retinue were to be treated with exceptional severity for their long and determined opposition. However this may be, the

valiant though haughty Brien observed the conditions of the treaty and did homage to King Stephen. The blow was severe; his domestic troubles were great; his two sons were lepers, and with great devotion he took up the cross and, accompanied by Will de Warenne of Mongewell, joined a crusade in the Holy Land, having made considerable benefactions to the monastery of Bec, to which his wife, who had previously entered the religious life, had granted the manors of Great and Little Okeburne, in Wiltshire, long the seat of the priory of Bec in England. To this grant a seal was appended with an impress of herself in the religious habit, an olive branch in her right hand, and beads on the left arm, with this inscription in the oval margin, "Sigillum Matildis Domine Waringfordie $\overline{\text{H}}$."

Among the great men who opposed King Stephen was Gilbert Basset, who, like Robert d'Oyley and Hugh Bigot, was conspicuous for his adherence to the cause of the empress. The family of Basset was one of considerable distinction in connection with Wallingford. It sprang from Ralph Basset, who was Justice of England, and had a large estate in Oxfordshire, and who, it is said, was raised to the high office from a very low condition. His younger son, the above-named Gilbert, had in the time of Milo Crispin seven knights' fees of the Honour of Wallingford granted to him, consisting of eight manors. The possession of so many of these knights' fees shows the extent of military service the holder was prepared to render; and as a feudatory vassal of Brien Fitzcount, Gilbert Basset was present at many of the recorded encounters. Upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Wallingford, a coin bearing two rude figures, Stephen and Henry, is supposed to have been struck here.

HENRY II.

One of the first acts of Henry Plantagenet, on succeeding to the throne on the death of King Stephen, after having taken the usual oath to the crown of England, was to hold a great council, or, as some call it, a parliament, at Wallingford, and seek the advice of a representative assembly in carrying out the provisions of the treaty by which the throne was secured to him at Wallingford. Observing not only

the terms, but acting up to the spirit of the treaty, the king effected great constitutional reforms, which have been well described as "destructive of Norman usurpation and constructive of English freedom." The period for sixty years after the death of King Stephen was one of constant growth, and, says Professor Stubbs (now Bishop of Oxford), in his "Constitutional History," "the chain of events that connects the peace of Wallingford and the Charter of Runnymede is traceable link by link." Another early act of the king was to seize as an escheat the castle and honour, which Brien and Maud, having entered into a religious life, had ceased to hold.

The king granted, and at a great council held at Wallingford confirmed, the Charter of Liberties for the first mayor of the town in the year 1155. In the same year the spiritual and lay barons assembled in great council at Wallingford Castle to seal the succession to the throne, and they took oaths of fidelity to the king and his heirs, the heirs being his two sons, William and Henry.

Another great council was shortly afterwards held by the king at Wallingford, when an Act was passed to expel all strangers from the land. This Act was directed against the multitudes from all parts whom the wars had drawn hither, and whom King Stephen had entertained and chiefly trusted.

The market dispute between Wallingford and the Abbot of Abingdon was revived on the accession of Henry II., when the men of Wallingford united with the men of Oxford in a combined attack upon the exclusive privilege enjoyed by their neighbours at Abingdon. The former pressed their claims on the king for a reversal of the adverse decision previously given, and were so far successful as to obtain a written authority for limiting the market at Abingdon to the sale of a few trifling commodities. Armed with this authority, and supported by the constable of the royal castle, the men of Wallingford marched to Abingdon, and in the king's name proceeded by force to clear the market. Being ignominiously expelled by the abbot's retainers, they crossed the Channel and made another appeal to the king, and afterwards a third, but on both occasions the abbot was triumphant. Defeated at law, the men of Wallingford tried another expedient. They appeared before the king at

Reading, and stated that, if the Abingdon market continued, they would not hold their feudal tenures. Indignant at their pertinacity, Henry roughly dismissed them, and ordered that a market in the fullest acceptation of the term should be held in Abingdon, at which the abbot's "ships" might be admitted, while all others would be excluded. The people of Wallingford, however, were amply requited for the loss of their assumed rights. Within a very short time (A.D. 1156) the king granted to the inhabitants a charter of privileges such as was never before given to the same extent to any other place. It was admittedly granted in return for the services the town had rendered the king during the contest with Stephen in "helping him to the kingdom." The charter not only confirmed the laws and customs enjoyed during preceding reigns, but greatly enlarged privileges, exemptions, and powers were added. Their guild of merchants, which existed in the time of the Confessor, the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I., were to have exclusive jurisdiction; they were not to answer to any suit unless at their own Portmote, nor be judged otherwise than by their own rules and laws. The market at Crowmarsh was prohibited, and merchants of the guild were alone empowered to trade there. Full acquittance of the king's yearly gabel (rent) out of the borough was granted in perpetuity to all the men of Wallingford, who were also to be exempt from tolls and aids wherever they went as traders. No custom was to be established which might be hurtful to the burgesses of the town, and they were to be free from all servile works. With these privileges, the possession of the mercate of Wallingford under the guild was considered to be equivalent to a livelihood.

The provisions of the charter throw an interesting light upon the customs of the nation, and present to us a curious memorial of the manner in which our ancestors were formerly governed, and the state of oppression under which they laboured.

Unlike his predecessor Stephen, who exacted from his subjects enormous sums by imposing fines to an unreasonable extent on granting licences for all sorts of purposes, Henry mainly adopted the system of raising scutages or taxes from his baronies and knights' fees as a commutation

from personal military service. These scutages were frequent, and told heavily on the knights' fees of the Honour of Wallingford.

Although the honour remained in the possession of the crown during this reign, and the king evinced so great an interest in securing the prosperity of the town, we do not find that he ever made the castle his place of residence. The palace of Woodstock, with its fair occupant, seems to have been his principal country resort.

There are coins of this reign struck at Wallingford in the cabinets of the British Museum ; the place of mintage is styled Vali, or Wali.

RICHARD I.

The Honour of Wallingford was given by the king to his brother John, the future sovereign, to hold by ancient tenure ; the king soon afterwards departed on a crusade to the Holy Land, and the castle was delivered into the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen for safe keeping till his return. The honour formed only a small part of the bounty of the king to his brother, but, profuse as the favours were, they failed to secure anything but the basest ingratitude. The prince, with an utter disregard of the oaths of allegiance he had taken, allied himself to Philip King of France, and planned an invasion of his brother's kingdom. He besieged the garrisons of the castles of Wallingford and Windsor, and made himself master of both fortresses. His next act was to aspire to the throne, but the barons raised a successful war against him, and, under the brave Earl of Leicester, these castles with others fell into the hands of the royalists, and the traitor was obliged to beg a truce and to return to his ally in France. Wallingford Castle was entrusted, with that of Windsor, to Eleanor, the queen dowager. On the king's return to England in March, 1194, the barons held a great council, at which they confiscated all Prince John's possessions on account of his treason. Deserted by the French king, the base prince threw himself at his brother's feet, and, through the intercession of Queen Eleanor, obtained a pardon.

Richard, in the sixth year of his reign, issued a writ to the

Archbishop of Canterbury, authorizing tournaments in Wallingford and four other places. These tournaments had been suppressed by decrees of popes since the reign of Stephen, but were now revived, not only on account of the military advantage, but for pecuniary profit, owing to the exhausted condition of the royal coffers.

Another profitable source of royal income was derived from licences to marry. "No virgin or widow possessed of lands held in capite from the crown" was allowed to marry without the king's licence. Those who were connected with the Honour of Wallingford paid large sums for the purchase of his Majesty's favour. Gilbert Basset paid a fine of £100 to the king for leave to marry his only daughter and heiress Eustatia to Thomas de Verdon, a baron, who, upon the marriage taking place, paid to the king 300 marks for the livery of certain lands. Thomas de Verdon died five years after the marriage, whereupon Gerald de Camvill, Lord of Middleton, who held seven knights' fees, gave £1000 sterling to the king for the wardship of the young widow, whom he married to his son Richard. Robert de Piselee paid 60 marks and one horn to be reconciled to the king, and to enjoy in peace Alice de Chesterton, whom he had married without the royal licence.

KING JOHN.

The connection of this worst of English kings with Wallingford is somewhat scantily noticed, although the castle was often his place of residence, and several of his charters were signed here. In 1201, about two years after his accession, the martial zeal of the Bassets, who had so long served as knights of the Honour of Wallingford, yielded to a sense of moral duty. An insurrection had occurred in Normandy, owing to the cowardly conduct of the king in offering a substitute when challenged to mortal combat by the Earl of Marche, whose affianced wife the king had espoused. The barons generally disobeyed the royal summons to accompany the king to quell the disturbance, and a scutage was imposed on those who stayed behind. Thurston Basset paid 20 marks for himself and the six knights' fees which he held of the honour as the price of

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exemption from the service ; and among others who held possessions in Wallingford and paid scutage, were the Abbot of St. Albans, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Robert de Chesterton, and Thomas de St. Walery. Gilbert Basset was one of the exceptions among the few barons who attended the king, and he had a writ of quietus for his seven knights' fees within the honour.

During this reign Wallingford had a stormy time. Hubert de Burgh, Sheriff of Berks and Chamberlain to the king, was the constable of the castle, and to this fortress the king was a frequent visitor. He travelled from place to place in quick succession. Journeys of thirty-five to forty miles in the day appear, from the Itinerary, to have been often accomplished—no easy matter in those days. In one year it is recorded he changed his residence upwards of one hundred and fifty times, stopping either at a castle, a royal manor, or at some religious house, "in order that he might consume the provisions due to him in lieu of rent from those places." In 1204-5, the king was at Wallingford three times according to the Itinerary, and then there is a break till the year 1212, when he met at Wallingford the discontented barons of the north. An apparent reconciliation was effected, and the kiss of peace given through the mediation of the pope's legate ; but the act on the part of the king was one of perfidy and duplicity. The contest with the pope was renewed, and ended in the king giving to the Church of Rome the kingdom of England, and surrendering himself to the will of his Holiness. Just previous he had ordered the bailiffs and faithful men of Wallingford to furnish one hundred men, horses and arms, to be ready to serve him when and where required. The crown which John had forfeited was restored to him on his agreeing to instal Stephen Langton, the pope's nominee, to the primacy, and the king was left to pursue his deceitful and cruel course, which was again evidenced at another meeting at Wallingford in 1213, when he promised to the bishops and others who had assembled, restitution to the church and to his subjects of whatever they had been illegally deprived. The only result, however, was that the archbishops and bishops who had been obliged to leave the country received fifteen thousand marks of silver as a remuneration.

The king remained in Wallingford for three days probably on this occasion, and in the months of October and November he was here during four days, which was contrary to his usual practice. In a previous year, the king commanded the Sheriff of Oxford to cause a fair to be held at Wallingford for four days for three years free of toll ; and by royal warrant the market at Crawmers (Crowmarsh) was prohibited, being an injury to the market at Wallingford.

Frequent were the king's visits to the town in 1214 and following year, and his movements were rapid, occasioned doubtless by the increasing discontent of his subjects. Four months after the signature of Magna Charta the king again appeared in Wallingford, and it was probably on this occasion that the barons, by the persuasion of the Earl of Nevers, attempted to surprise him. Failing in their object, they raised the siege and marched to Cambridge, whither the king followed them from Wallingford, and, aided by the pope and foreign troops, he found himself in a condition to recall the liberties he had granted to his subjects by the famous Charter, and to prove his power by committing the most horrid cruelties. The barons, unable to contend against the king, sought foreign aid in the person of Louis, the eldest son of Philip of France, who with a powerful army secured all the southern counties and the castles, Dover being, according to Hume, the only exception ; but there is nothing to show that Wallingford Castle had transferred its allegiance to the heir of the French king. On the contrary, that castle was one which received especial care, by the king's command, nearly up to the time of his death ; it was strengthened and put into an efficient state of defence, and the documents quoted in the former history afford strong evidence that Wallingford was not one of the surrendered castles.

HENRY III.

This reign is conspicuous, as far as Wallingford is concerned, for the great prosperity which the town attained in consequence of the munificent hospitality of Richard Earl of Cornwall, afterwards King of the Romans, brother

of the king, and constable of the castle. He spent vast sums of money on the fortress, and made it his principal residence, while the frequent assembling of the court at Wallingford added greatly to the trade and importance of the town. According to Dugdale, it was in the year 1218 (the year following his accession) that the young king granted to his brother the castle and honour, and bestowed on him the earldom of Cornwall. But it would appear that at this time Ranulph de Blundeville, the brave Earl of Chester, held the former. He was among those who persisted in detaining the king's castles, and threatened to form a conspiracy against the royal person. Ultimately, however, the design was abandoned, and most of the fortresses were surrendered to the king. The charter by which the grant to Earl Richard was formally made is dated in 1222, when, on the application of Hubert de Burgh, who was then chief justiciary, the pope issued his bull, declaring the king to be of full age and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty.

The great hall of the castle was built in 1220, and in 1226 a debt of £14 3s. was ordered to be paid to the king's tailor "for robes and cloaks sent to Wallingford for the use of the king and his brother on royal occasions."

In 1227, the town, which had previously been seized into the king's hands because the inhabitants had made default in payment, upon the sheriff's view of his account, was restored by royal order.

A precept in 1227, addressed to the custos of the Honour of Wallingford, directs the prohibition of the annual fair at Swyncombe as an injury to the fair at Wallingford, which was the caput of the honour. The Manor of Swyncombe had been given by Milo Crispin to the monks of Bec, to whom the privilege of establishing the fair for three days annually had been granted.

An interesting document, mentioned in the original history, contains the names and number of knights in the Honour of Wallingford, who paid a fine rather than join the king's army abroad in 1228, and some of these fines amounted to £10 each.

In the autumn of 1229 the king was at Wallingford, and some time afterwards he again visited the town with a large

force on his way to Oxford. In 1232, the Earl of Chester died in the castle. His heart was buried there, and his body was interred in the chapter-house of the monks at Chester, the burial-place of his ancestors.

About this time a chantry for masses was established at Wallingford by Richard Earl of Cornwall, for the repose of the soul of Isabella of Gloucester.

In the year 1238, the castle afforded protection to Cardinal Otho, legate of Pope Gregory IX., who came to England to make some ordinances for the better government of the Church, and on his passage through Oxford to Osney Abbey a disturbance arose. Accounts differ as to its origin, some imputing the blame to the younger members of the university, to whom the ordinances were distasteful; and others to the imperious conduct of the doorkeeper of the abbey in refusing admittance to the clergy. The fury of the latter reached its height when the legate's chief cook, who happened to be his brother, threw the contents of a vessel of boiling broth in the face of a poor unoffending chaplain. A student drew his bow and shot the cook dead on the spot, while his companions attempted to set fire to the closed gates of the abbey, and assailed the building with bows and catapults. The terrified legate flew for refuge to the belfry, and there he remained a prisoner, till the officer of the king, who was then at Abingdon, secured his release, and conveyed him under a guard to Wallingford Castle. Soon afterwards twenty or thirty of the scholars, some of them youths of noble birth, were arrested and committed to prison in the same castle, and from thence, at the request of the legate, were conveyed in open carts, heavily chained with irons, to the Tower of London. The implacable legate then pronounced sentence of excommunication, prohibited all scholastic exercises and lectures in the university, and laid the whole town under interdict.

The king celebrated his Christmas at Wallingford in 1242, and also in the following year, being then on a visit to his brother Richard, who had recently returned from the Holy Land. Nearly the whole nobility of England were invited to the castle to share in the festivities and to welcome Beatrice Countess of Provence, and her daughter-in-law, Sanchia, to whom the king paid particular attention as the

future bride of his brother. The marriage of the earl and Sencia took place at Westminster, and not at Wallingford, as some authors have stated; but the espousals were celebrated here in great splendour, the castle having been repaired for the occasion. At Christmas, 1244, the king was again the guest of his brother; and in the next year he was entertained here with the queen and nobility, when several royal grants were made, and just previously the Manor of Bensington, with the hundred and all appurtenances, was committed to the earl. Great were the rejoicings at the castle in 1246, on the birth of a son of the earl. A magnificent feast, at which the king and many of the nobility were present, marked the event. These festivities, with the king and most of the nobility present, can scarcely be said to have harmonized with the spirit of discontent that then generally prevailed. The king's long misrule had excited the barons to resolute opposition, and led to the refusal of further subsidies, about the very time these rejoicings were taking place. Such were the king's financial straits that his court lived at free quarters wherever it moved, which may account for the frequent visits to the hospitable Castle of Wallingford.

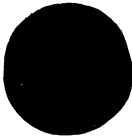
In 1247, a great change occurred in the reverse type of the silver coinage, and we are indebted to John de Wallingford in his MS. Chronicle for a representation of both sides of the coin, which was probably struck in this town.

A writ was issued by the king in 1248-9, commanding the bailiffs and men of Wallingford to choose in full town court, by oath of twenty-four good men, ten men of the most trusty and prudent of their town for the management of the mint there, and one fit and trusty clerk for keeping of the exchange. The names and duties of these officers are given in the original history classed under the heads, Monetarii, Custodes, Associatores, and Clericus. It is stated by Ruding that no notice of a mint at Wallingford has been met with after this reign.

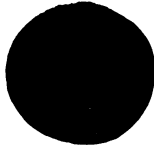
In 1249, the king, reduced to extremities, borrowed large sums of his brother Richard, and caused new money to be coined in most large towns, out of which he fully repaid him, and also gave him one-half of the profits of coinage, which made him, it is recorded, "immensely rich." The



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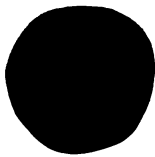
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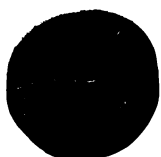
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large staff of officials in the Wallingford mint must have had active employment at that time. †

Christmas was again kept at the castle in great state by the earl, with a splendid train of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the realm, and in 1250 he took ship for France, passing through that kingdom with forty knights and an equipage which excited the envy of the French.

The church of Hales, in Gloucestershire, had been built at great expense by Earl Richard, in accordance with a vow he had made when in danger of shipwreck. At the opening there were present the king and queen, thirteen bishops, most of the barons, and above three hundred knights, whom he entertained "with incredible state and plenty." Referring to his expenditure of ten thousand marks upon the building, the earl remarked, "Would that it had pleased God that I had expended all that I have laid out on the Castle of Wallingford in as wise and salutary a manner."

The Jews, being possessed of a large portion of the wealth of the country, had been cruelly persecuted from the time of William II. Vast sums were extorted from them by the necessities or will of the monarchs, particularly by King John, and their condition was but little improved under Henry III., who, having taken the loan from his brother before mentioned, assigned and sold to him as a security all the Jews in the realm for 5000 marks, with full power over their persons and property. Wallingford was one of the two places at which the sum thus extorted was to be paid. The Jews had a settlement in Wallingford as early as the time of the Conquest. Mossey of Wallingford, a Jew of some repute, is mentioned in 1180. They had no rights of citizenship, and were regarded as the king's chattels, which explains his dealings with them in the way stated. It was quaintly remarked that the king allowed the Jews to fleece his people, that he might fleece them in turn.

In 1256, Prince Edward, the king's son, visited his uncle Richard at the castle, and some of his attendants forced themselves into the adjacent priory without soliciting the accustomed hospitality. Having expelled the monks, they seized the provisions, broke the doors, windows, and culinary utensils in pieces, and thrust out the servants belonging to the establishment. The prince himself was engaged in the

outrage, his friends palliating the offence as being simply "the folly of youth."

Upon the death of the King of the Romans, the electors, resolving to make the best market of their votes, elected Richard Earl of Cornwall his successor. The price paid was 46,000 marks at 12s. a mark. The earl's letter to the Archbishop of Messina, announcing his election, is dated at Wallingford, February 11, 1256. He was crowned the following year, and soon afterwards left England. Thus the king lost the support of his brother at a critical time, if, however, he had not then forfeited all claim to its retention. The times were troublous, the disposition of the barons factious and turbulent, and distress was very great in the country. Wheat had risen from the normal price of 1s. and 4s. a quarter to 20s. and 24s., and Richard, King of the Romans, to allay the distress of the people, sent over fifty ships from Germany laden with wheat. No sooner had the ships arrived than King Henry seized the supplies, and commenced selling them at a large profit for his own benefit. The Law Courts intervened, and "stopped the robber king from trading on his people's blood."

During Richard's absence in Germany, the English barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, broke out in open rebellion against the king. They displaced all the chief officers of the crown, even those of the king's household, and succeeded in gaining possession of Wallingford Castle, of which Leicester became the constable, and made it the residence of his countess. Here, in the autumn of 1262, she was visited by her husband, who came with a train of 162 horse, all picketed within the walls. When King Richard returned from Germany, the king hastened to meet him to secure his help against the barons; but Richard had pledged his oath to assist them in reforming the kingdom, and letters from him dated Wallingford show the active part he took in obtaining the arbitrament of the King of France on the matters in difference between the king and the barons, and in a letter from Wallingford dated in 1263 he urges his brother to respect the award, whatever it may be. It was, however, rejected by Leicester, who refused to meet King Richard in conference, as appears by another letter written on the following day. Soon after dissensions arose

among the barons. The popular current set in against Leicester and his followers, and Wallingford Castle again passed into the hands of the royalists. About this time the king was at Wallingford with a large force of men under arms. The castle sustained another attack by the barons, who were repulsed with loss, owing to the strength of the fortifications and the courage and fidelity of the inhabitants, headed by the King of the Romans. The fatal battle of Lewes followed in May, 1264, when the royalists were completely defeated; the king, Prince Edward his son, Richard King of the Romans, Henry of Almain, and others, were taken prisoners. The town and Castle of Wallingford surrendered to the Earl of Leicester, who himself conducted the royal captives for safe custody to the very castle which in late years had witnessed in peaceful splendour the magnificent festivities and gorgeous pageantry of the royal party. At the instance of the queen, an attack on the castle to release her son was made by his favourite knight, Sir Warren de Basingbourne. He crossed the country with three hundred horse, and arrived at Wallingford just as the sun rose, and right against All Hallows Church he made the first fierce attack on the fortress, and won the outermost wall. The besieged defended themselves furiously with cross-bows and battle-engines, and at last called out to Sir Warren that if he wanted Edward the prince, he should have him bound hand and foot and shot from the "mangonel," a terrific war-engine used for casting stones. In order to avoid this murderous intention, Sir Warren, on the solicitation of the prince, reluctantly retired, and Leicester carried off all the royal prisoners for safer keeping to Kenilworth Castle. The prince escaped through the help of Lady Maud Mortimer, who had ambushed in a neighbouring thicket a swift steed in readiness for him. An overwhelming army readily joined under his standard, and in August, 1265, the battle of Evesham was fought and won by the valiant prince, who entirely defeated the barons' army, with the death of their leader, Simon Earl of Leicester, and Henry Montfort, his son. This victory secured the release of the prisoners, and almost all the castles garrisoned by the barons hastened to offer their submission. The Countess of Leicester, who had so recently occupied Walling-

ford Castle, was dismissed the kingdom with her two surviving sons. A letter of protection was sent from Prince Edward to the chancellor, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, relating to the restoration of the castle and the security of the persons and goods of Lord Richard de Havering and others who had submitted. The quick return of Richard, King of the Romans, to his castle at Wallingford was gladly welcomed by his friends and tenants, and his property, which had been sequestered, was restored to him.

Henry III., in the fifty-first year of his reign, confirmed the charter of his grandfather, and granted further privileges to the inhabitants. One of these so-called privileges gave to a native of this borough for a first offence, however heinous, the option of suffering his eyes to be put out, or be otherwise mutilated, instead of paying the forfeit of his life.

In 1271 the King of the Romans died, and the Castle and Honour of Wallingford fell to his son Edmund, then twenty years old, with the advowsons of thirteen churches in the town and one in the castle, and all his father's large inheritance.

The archives of the corporation were translated in 1876 by the lamented Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., one of the inspectors under the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He devoted several weeks to the work, and gave to the author of this history much valuable information. He considered the archives here were of greater antiquity and in better preservation than those possessed by most other corporations. The Burghmote rolls go back to the year 1232, 16 Henry III.; other rolls earlier. The courts which were periodically held were called Burghmote, Great Court or Portmote, Piepowder and view of frankpledge, Court of Aldermen of the Guild, and the Hall of Pleas. The Burghmote was the most important. It was presided over by the mayor and the provosts or bailiffs, and was often held on Sunday. Actions of debt, detainer, trespass, and assault were the cases that came under its cognizance, and the court set the assize of ale, bread, and corn. The rolls, in Latin very corrupt, are written in minute and neat hand, much abbreviated and difficult to decipher; they throw some light upon the life and manners of the place at that remote date.

The Guildhall had selds (warehouses open at the side) beneath it, let to traders. In the time of Edward II., and at an earlier date, the town had its fish-market, corn-market, and linen-market. Weavers are mentioned early, and it is not improbable that flax may have been grown in this vicinity. Comparatively few streets or lanes are mentioned so early as the time of Henry III., and houses and lands were mostly described by their position relatively to other messuages or tenements. In reference to the names of persons, it is remarkable, says Riley, to what an extent, within two centuries after the Norman conquest, the former Saxon nomenclature had disappeared. Among its burgesses, the persons who then constituted the middle class, many noble, or at least distinguished, names occur from about A.D. 1250 to 1320. Among such names are De Ros, Glanvyle, Marmyon, Beaumont, Mandeville, Rokeby, and De Montfort, concealed under the form of "Mumford." Probably the individuals bearing these names may have been remotely connected with the English court, or families of rank, which were attracted in such numbers to the castle by Richard, King of the Romans. In the corporation records many curious surnames occur, such as John Time-of-day, Nicholas Three-halfpence, Turnpeni, Scaldwater, Alice Longhair, Ironfoot, Peckepeni, Scyllicake. In the subsequent reign more particularly, surnames appear to have been frequently connected with a trade, occupation, or place of residence. Some would indicate the possession of a good or bad quality, such as diligence, punctuality, cruelty; others imply some bodily infirmity. In some of the earlier documents the names of the week are given as surnames—Sundi, Jeofday (Thursday), and Friday; Monday occurs more recently.

There are a number of rolls commencing in 1227 which contain lists of traders under different companies, assessed to a tax, apparently an income tax, varying from 4s. down to 2d. Among them the mercers number forty-four, the shoemakers thirty-four, and the butchers twelve. No mention is made of the trade of barber or barber-surgeon till the year 1708. The former existed from very early times, and the alliance between the doctor and the shaver must have taken place at this time. Formerly the art was

practised by the clergy up to about the twelfth century, when blood-letting was deemed incompatible with the office of priest, and the use of the lancet seems to have fallen by general acquiescence, and afterwards by legislative sanction, upon the manipulator of the razor, who performed not only blood-letting, but tooth-drawing and other minor operations.

A roll for A.D. 1230 closes with a list of women assessed residing in the town. The assessments on these persons vary from 2*d.* to 20*d.* The *feminæ forensis*, or market-women, are but fourteen in number; the market-men probably more than a hundred, and they are very numerous in the roll for 1235. Notes are added at the close of these and other rolls referring to various payments, many of them on the occasion of the king's visits, which appear to have been frequent. The sergeants of the market are recipients, chiefly for hay and oats, of sums varying from 10*d.* to 15*s.*, and 1*d.* for parchment. The clerk of St. Mary's, for his services at Christmas term, received 15*d.* The prebendary for the term of St. Michael, 7*s.* 8½*d.*; and for Easter term, 7*s.* 7½*d.* The castle "for two terms," £10 and £9. William Pret, for his horse for London, 8*d.* Entries are also made of payments for repairing the trebucket, 7½*d.*; for cups sent to the countess, 2*s.*; for a present sent to the seneschal, 6½*d.*, and to the lord the earl, 2*s.* To William the carpenter, 2½*d.*, for repairing a seat in the barn of Peter the vintner against the coming of Sir Robert de Lexintone. This Robert is supposed to have been senior justiciary, and conducted his judicial business in the barn of the vintner.

There are several rolls containing an account of fee farm rents, due apparently from all persons holding houses or lands in Wallingford; the earliest in date is 1229.

A singular variety of female names are to be found in these rolls, such as Estrilda, Elewiz, Asselina, Orange, Ydelota, Ysoda, Ybbe, Sueta, Wymarca, Helietta, Juweta, and Yngeleis.

Among the miscellaneous documents are various grants of land, messuages, and parts of messuages at apparently nominal rents. These grants are mostly beautifully written on parchment with seals attached, the mayor and others and "the whole Burghmote" being the witnesses. A parchment deed finely written, *temp.* Henry III., was executed

by the famous Earl of Leicester, by which he "granted to God and the brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Wallingford, for the health of his soul and for the souls of all his ancestors and successors in perpetual alms, 8*d.* of rent of assize out of land in Chalmore." There are several other grants to the hospital of property described to be in the parishes of St. Mary the Less, St. Michael, and St. Lucien.

EDWARD I.

On the death of his father, Wallingford Castle, with other large possessions, descended to Edmund Earl of Cornwall. He brought here, in about three weeks after the death, his bride, Margaret, sister of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and gave a magnificent feast to the barons and great men. In 1276, the king visited his cousin the earl in the castle, and in the following year he heard at Wallingford the complaints between the Prior of Dunstable and the king's falconer, who had mortally wounded the prior's chaplain.

The collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in the castle, a small part of which remains, was endowed by the earl, for the maintenance of a master, five chaplains, six clerks, and four choristers.

Wallingford is one of the oldest parliamentary boroughs, and sent members to Parliament as early as the twenty-first year of this reign, perhaps earlier. In a subsequent page will be found a chapter devoted to the representation of the borough. Earl Edward died in 1299, and, leaving no legitimate issue, his honours and possessions fell to the king, whom he had before declared his heir. In the inquisition, taken in 1300, of the lands and tenements of which he died possessed, mention is made of the Castle, borough, and entire Honour of Wallingford, hamlet of Clapcot, four water-mills, the borough farm of £40 in white money, a fishery in the Thames, sundry messuages, land, and yearly rents, the total value of which was assessed at £68 11*s.* 6½*d.* Certain other holdings in Henley-on-Thames are also mentioned.

A seizure of the town again took place in this reign for arrears of £80 due to the king for the ferm, on payment of which and a fine of 40*s.* the town was restored.

In the rolls, of which a large number are preserved, the list of traders or companies is extended to the cordwainers (twenty-nine in number) and auxionarii, supposed to be poulterers by trade, the cirothecarii, or glovers, and the foreign covenanters called conventionarii forinseci. This last class refers to traders in the neighbouring villages.

The list of butchers is headed by Alan Pulegenet, elsewhere written Plukenet, supposed to be Sir Alan Plokenet, who was one of the council of Prince Edward in 1297, and attended in the Guildhall in London, with other members of the royal council, in 25 Edward I. to announce the abolition of the custom of taking prisage on flesh meat, bread, ale, and other victuals in the king's name—a tyrannical usage which by royal order was thereupon abandoned.

Another butcher in the same list has simply the name of "Tyme-off-day," and his assessment of 3s. is the largest therein, Plukenet being assessed at 6d. only. About fifty women, dealers in the town, close the roll, among them Matilde la Hupholdestre-Makeput and Alice Plottere de Helle, a singular combination. Mention is made in one of the miscellaneous papers of a grant in 1287, of an indulgence for thirty days by Richard Swinefeld, Bishop of Hereford, to those "bestowing alms upon the Hospital of St. John at Wallingford, and the sick brethren and poor therein." The episcopal seal appended is in fair condition in green and red wax.

Several documents are extant referring to coroners' inquests on criminal charges in the town. Two coroners conducted the investigation and adjudicated punishment, the gaol in the castle being used as the town prison. It appears also to have been within their province to hear confessions of guilt in church, from those who had taken sanctuary and were about to abjure the realm for theft. Several such instances are recorded of criminals flying to different churches in the town and finding refuge therein. Most of these records are written on small slips of parchment sewed together with thread.

This protective power of the sanctuary dates from an extremely remote period down to the reign of Henry VIII., and afterwards in a modified form to that of James I., when

it was virtually abolished. The privilege was recognized by Ine, King of the West Saxons in the year 693, and by the laws of Alfred the Great in 887, and more clearly defined in 1070 by William the Conqueror, who directed that if the refugee failed to compound for his crime within forty days, he was to appear before the coroner clothed in sackcloth, confess his crime, and abjure the realm.

There are a number of deeds in the corporation chest, executed by the inhabitants of the town or its immediate vicinity, which have no relation to corporate property, and were probably deposited for safe custody. Most of them were witnessed by the mayor and other inhabitants, and frequently at the ward or portmote; other deeds in the chest are grants of the freedom of the borough by the aldermen of the guild, in consideration of small annual sums charged on the tenements. A common rent in this reign consisted of one clove at Easter, as an acknowledgment of the title of the recipient. One pound of pepper is mentioned as a rent of assize for a place called Copperscroft, and a yearly rent of 6*d.* in silver attaches to a tenement in "Canecroftestrete," in the parish of Holy Trinity. A parchment deed has a large round seal in green and white wax appended; it is the seal of the borough, representing a knight in mail armour on horseback, wielding a sword, the horse's mane being plaited, which is a slight variation from the seal now used.

There is an interesting illustration of the tally system of keeping accounts in this reign. Annexed to a parchment roll of quit-rents there is a wooden tally neatly notched almost from end to end, denoting the payment of the rent. These tallies were double, the same marks being made on both parts and then broken, so that each party kept one piece.

Frequent reference is made to the linen and fish market, as well as to the corn market, and traders seem, from the number of cases recorded, to have been subjected to strict supervision and penal restriction. The sale of beer "by cup," of fish "too dear," of clothes, shoes, and other articles in excess of certain rates, was followed by presentment and fine at the Burghmote. Breaking the assize, particularly of bread, was the subject of frequent amercement. A fisherman was fined for buying and selling fish by the river-side.

EDWARD II.

Edward of Carnarvon began his reign in July, 1307, and within a month he granted the whole duchy of Cornwall, with the Castle, town, and Honour of Wallingford, the manors of Watlington and Bensington, and other lands of which Edmund Earl of Cornwall died possessed, to his unfortunate favourite, Piers de Gaveston, whom he made Baron of Wallingford, and afterwards Earl of Cornwall. Gaveston had been banished in the previous reign, and the late king had enjoined Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, not to permit him to return to England; but the first object of Edward II. was to secure his recall and load him with honours, and when Edward prepared to sail for France to meet his bride, Isabella the Fair, he was appointed regent of the kingdom, with powers almost unlimited.

The banishment of Gaveston was principally due to Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and as a mark, it would seem, of the royal displeasure, the bishop was arrested in the year of the king's accession, imprisoned at Wallingford, and his goods were confiscated and given to Gaveston. A second banishment of this haughty and imperious minister, which the king, pressed by the English nobles, was prevailed on to decree, was met by sending him to Ireland and making him viceroy. He was soon, however, recalled, and on his return he proclaimed a great tournament to be kept near his Castle of Wallingford, to celebrate the grant to him of that fortress. It was at this grand gathering that the seeds were sown of a fearful day of reckoning. In scornful raillery, Gaveston applied provoking sobriquets to many of his leading guests. The Earl of Pembroke, whose complexion was dark and sallow, he called "Joseph the Jew;" the fierce Earl of Warwick, "the Wild Boar of Ardennes;" the Earl of Lancaster, from his affecting a picturesque style of dress, "the Stage Player;" and in like manner he characterized the rest of the party, either from their peculiarities or defects. These insults stirred up such a storm in the court and among the baronage, that the king was obliged to send Gaveston again out of the country, and Gaveston surrendered the castle,

town, and other possessions. In 1312 he was recalled, and the king ordered the constable to provision the castle and repair the houses, and he made his favourite principal minister. This promotion set free the pent-up vengeance of the malcontent barons, who, headed by the Earl of Lancaster, took up arms against the sovereign. Gaveston sought refuge in the strong fortress of Scarborough, but was forced to surrender to the confederate nobles. The custody of the prisoner was committed to the Earl of Pembroke, who listened to the king's request for an interview with his minister at Wallingford, whither the king had repaired. On the way, Guy, Earl of Warwick, the "Wild Boar" at the tournament, seized the prisoner at night in the absence of the earl, and with a large force carried him away to Blacklow Hill, near Guy's Cliff, where he was beheaded. The spot, in memory of the tragedy committed there, is called Gaveshead.

Upon the death of Gaveston, the king immediately granted the castle and honour to another of his favourites, Hugh Dispenser the younger. The king's attachment towards him excited the envy of the Earl of Lancaster and other nobles, who, regarding Dispenser as their rival, planned his ruin, and the demands of a formidable army led to his banishment and the forfeiture of the grant.

In 1317, the king gave to Isabella his queen the castle and honour for her life. An insult offered to her in the Castle of Leeds in Kent, where she was refused admission for the night, and some of her servants killed, excited general indignation, and enabled the king to raise an army, superior to that of the barons who had rebelled against him. He fell on them before they were prepared for resistance. Some were captured and others surrendered, and were conducted to the Tower of London and to Wallingford Castle, where they were imprisoned. Among the prisoners sent to the Tower was Roger Mortimer, who for many years had been a zealous adherent of the king, but had now joined the insurgent barons; and among those sent to the castle here were Maurice Lord Berkeley and Hugh Lord Audley. At the instance of Mortimer, a plot was organized for the seizure of the royal fortress of Wallingford and release of the prisoners, the occasion being the seizure by the king of the estate of Alicia, widow of the Earl of Lancaster, for

marrying another husband without the royal consent. The conspiracy was headed by Sir John Godlington and Sir Edmond de la Beeche, who belonged to the family of that name at the neighbouring village of Aldworth. With the connivance of the governor, the conspirators procured admission by a postern gate near the Thames, and kept possession of the castle for the barons; but the attempt to release the prisoners was frustrated, and, the king having sent his household steward, Sir Richard d'Amoz, to the castle with a large force, the invaders were expelled, after thirty-five days' resistance, at a cost of £51 7s.

Lord Audley escaped from the castle, and, although the king appears to have fixed on him as the chief delinquent, he was afterwards received into the royal favour by the interest of the widow of Piers de Gaveston; but Maurice Lord Berkeley continued a prisoner at Wallingford till his death in 1326.

1314-15. The gaol for the county of Berks was in ancient times at Wallingford, from whence it was removed, by charter of Edward I., to Windsor. In the parliament holden this year, the inhabitants of the county presented a petition to the king, praying for its removal, stating that the "commonalty of the town of Windsor is so weak that the gaol cannot be sustained by the alms of the town, whereby the prisoners die immediately, as well the innocent as the guilty, and those who have goods die before judgment is given, so that the king loses the goods and chattels of the felons, to the great damage of the crown. . . . Also if any great felon be indicted in the county, and taken to Windsor, he is released for money, wherefore the good people of the county have feared to indict those, on whom justice is not done in due manner. The said gaol used to be at Wallingford, in the custody of the sheriff, to the great profit of the king and his crown." Whereof they pray that a remedy may be granted them.

Ultimately the gaol was transferred from Windsor to Reading, where it still remains.

Mortimer effected his escape from the Tower and joined the queen in the French capital, where he aided her in her traitorous proceedings against the king, and in her attacks on the two Dispensers, who had advised a curtailment of

her possessions, including the Castle of Wallingford. Her shameless intimacy with Mortimer culminated in open rebellion, and she landed in England with an armament in her projected invasion of the kingdom. The king, on receiving the startling intelligence of her landing, issued a proclamation against those who had taken up arms against him, and offered £1000 for the head of the "arch-traitor Roger Mortimer." The queen, not to be outdone, in her manifesto from Wallingford Castle offered double that sum for the head of the younger Dispenser. The king and the Dispensers took refuge in Bristol Castle, which the queen successfully besieged. The Dispensers were executed, and the king was removed to Kenilworth. Isabella thereupon conferred Wallingford Castle on Mortimer. At Christmas, 1326, she held a royal feast at Wallingford, and entertained in great state the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Lincoln, Ely, Coventry, and Hereford, and also a large company of knights and barons. Prince Edward was also present, and soon afterwards, at a parliament summoned by the queen in the name of her imprisoned husband, Edward II. was declared incompetent to reign, and the Prince of Wales was chosen his successor. Roger Mortimer, in whose unscrupulous hands the real power had been lodged, was appointed chief minister, and the cruel murder of the king in Berkeley Castle quickly followed.

Among the many documents of this reign in the corporation chest, the Prior of Wallingford frequently appears in the Burghmote rolls as plaintiff in actions of debt. The last membrane of the roll ends with a statement that the prior and Benedict de Glannwyllle "at last have leave to agree"—the latter to be amerced, which amercement, however, appears to have been remitted.

Attached by a parchment thong to a bundle of parchments is a tally of white hard wood, with seven notches cut in it, upon which is written in Latin, "Against Robert the tailor and Joan his wife, as to monies due to Richard de Langale, purveyor of Sir Edward Earl of Chester. This debt is recovered in court." The Earl of Chester mentioned, then a child of nine years of age, was afterwards King Edward III.

A parchment indenture in Latin, directed to "all the faithful of Christ who this writing shall see or hear," recites that "in consideration of a loan of 37*s.* 11*d.* Nicholas de la Barre, the Mayor of Wallingford, the aldermen, and community do will and grant that William and Roger Badecoke for that courtesy shall in future be quit and absolved from all tollage and collection, and from holding any bailiwick among us or be put in any office until the said 37*s.* 11*d.* by us or our successors be fully paid." We see from this document at how low an ebb the finances of the corporation must have been about the year 1321. Perhaps the inhabitants had not recovered from the effect of the fearful visitation of pestilence and its forerunner famine with which the town and indeed the whole country were afflicted in 1316. A great number of deaths took place in the gaol of the castle in that year. No less than twenty-eight inquests were held there in a little over two months.

Among the parchment deeds are several grants of land and yearly rents to the master of the Hospital of St. John, and of rents of small amount to the community of the burgh for admission to the freedom.

An inquisition taken in the early part of this reign (1308) shows what large sums were required for repairing and maintaining the castle in a proper state. The reference to the mills in this inquisition explains the origin of the irregularities and depressions which are now to be seen in the meadow called "The Queen's Arbour," on the east of the castle ditch extending down to the river. The course of the side streams that worked these mills is clearly traceable, the water in the river having been kept up by the old lock, of which some of the piles in the bed of the river still remain.

EDWARD III.

A council of regency was appointed by parliament to carry on the government during the minority of the young king, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age. Neither the queen nor Mortimer had a place in the council. Still she usurped the regal power, and her paramour assumed all the pomp and consequence of princely rank under the title

of Earl of March, the Castle of Wallingford, as the dower inheritance of the queen, being one of the palaces in which this display of pageantry took place. She kept her Christmas here in 1327; and two years after, at a solemn assembly of the lords held at the cathedral of London, it was demanded that Mortimer and the queen should live on their own property, for there was no care to conceal her criminal attachment.

The late king appointed William de Mareschal Constable of Wallingford Castle; the queen, by a writ in which she styles herself "Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, and Countess of Ponthieu," deprived him of the office, and commanded him to deliver all the arms and provisions in his custody at Wallingford to Sweyn de Mortel. Sweyn's tenure of the office was of short duration, for in 1329 the king not only restored the custody of the castle to William de Mareschal, but gave him the stewardship of the honours of Wallingford and St. Valerie. With this little incident the exercise of sovereign authority, in apparent opposition to the queen, seems for a time to have ended, for it was in the same year that Isabella and Mortimer designed the murder of the Earl of Kent by procuring his condemnation for an impossible treason, and all the efforts of the king to rescue his uncle from so barbarous a fate were without success.

At length the young king arrived at an age to think and act for himself. He was now eighteen years of age, and a speedy end was put to the career of infamy and rebellion to which he could no longer shut his eyes. The cruel deaths of his father and uncle were avenged by the arrest of the hardened criminal Mortimer, in the queen's chamber in the Castle of Nottingham, and his condemnation by the parliament there assembled and execution at once followed. He was the first person whose body hung on the gibbet at Tyburn, then called "the Elmes." His capture was partly effected by Sir John de Molynes, who entered the castle at night-time, and whose family was, if not then, in later times connected with the town of Wallingford. The queen was spared the ignominy of a public trial by the intercession of the pope, and as a prisoner spent the many years of her widowhood at Castle Rising, in Norfolk. She gave into the

king's hands the Castle and Honour of Wallingford and all her other dower possessions.

After the execution of Mortimer, Edward III. kept the castle and honour in his own hands for some time, and then bestowed them on his brother John, surnamed of Eltham, second son of Edward II., who was advanced to the title of Earl of Cornwall. He died without issue in 1334, and the castle and honour reverted to the crown.

About this time the custodian of the castle was John de Stonore, an ancestor, no doubt, of the present Lord Camoys, of Stonor Park, Oxfordshire. The date is uncertain, but in the year 1340 Sir John was chief justice.

As in previous reigns so in this, the castle and honour were held with the earldom of Cornwall. The origin of the connection is not known, but there is reason to suppose that it may be dated back to the time of Brien Fitzcount, who inherited from an uncle a large estate in Cornwall. For nearly four centuries the connection subsisted, although no formal annexation appears to have taken place till 1335, when an Act of Parliament was passed by which the Duchy of Cornwall, and all castles, honours, and other possessions reputed to be part thereof, were settled on the eldest sons of the kings of England in succession. Under this special Act the castle and honour, as part of the duchy, became the inheritance of the Black Prince, who was invested Duke of Cornwall, and was the possessor for upwards of forty years. From that time to the present the dukedom has remained in the crown, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the King of England being Duke of Cornwall by birth.

The duties of the priors of Wallingford were not confined to the cloister, but in this reign, and in other reigns, extended to fiscal and secular matters in connection with the State. There is a curious record in the "*Inquisitiones Nonorum*," giving the return of the jurors at a court held by the prior, as the head of the commission, at Reading in 1342, to determine the value of the ninth part of the corn, wool, and lambs granted to the king from the Rectory of Bray in this county. A similar return for Chiltone, in Berks, related to sheep, corn, and wool.

A grant to the above extent in every parish in England was made to Edward III., as an aid for the conquest of France.

At views of frankpledge in this reign, the jurors presented various persons for charging in excess, for selling ale by false assize, for raising the hue unjustly, and for forestalling, etc., the fines varying from 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* in each case.

1349. In this year Wallingford was again afflicted with a destructive pestilence, which is said to have swept away the greater part of the inhabitants. Among those who died of the plague in the castle were a lady named Savage and James of Bobbing, who were attached to the household of the Prince of Wales. This black death, as it was called, was not confined to Wallingford; after desolating the island, it passed over to France, and there raged with greater intensity. According to Speed, rain fell with little intermission from midsummer to Christmas, and this terrible plague was followed by murrain of cattle and dearth of all things.

RICHARD II.

The king was not quite eleven years old when he succeeded to the throne, and one of his earliest acts was to appoint the officers in the royal Castle of Wallingford. Albert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was constituted constable; Roger Hurst, groom of the chamber, with a grant of the office of porter, at the wages of 2*d.* each day during his life for his maintenance, together with other profits due and accustomed to the office, with the profits of the ferry over the Thames at Shillingford. The above grant is unique for its prolixity, and is in Norman French under the privy seal, endorsed by the Great Council. Another grant by the king of the office of bailiff is much more concise.

1360. Shortly after the death of her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland, who was made Earl of Kent in her right, Joan, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, married the Black Prince. She made the Castle of Wallingford her chief place of residence, as did also the prince, when he was not engaged in foreign wars. She survived him nine years, and died of grief at the castle in the year 1385. Her death is supposed to have been accelerated by the refusal of the king to listen to her entreaties to save the life of her son, Sir John Holland,

at whose hands Lord Stafford met his death. "After four days' incessant lamentation," says Miss Strickland, "the king's mother died at the royal Castle of Wallingford. Richard's resolution failed him at this catastrophe, and, when too late to save his mother, he pardoned the criminal." According to Daniel's "History of England," she was buried at Wallingford. By her will, which is dated from the castle, she gives to her dear son the king, her new bed of red velvet, embroidered with ostrich feathers of silver and herds of leopards of gold with boughs and leaves issuing out of their mouths. To her dear son Thomas Earl of Kent, her bed of red camak paied with red and rays of gold. To her dear son Sir John Holland, a bed of red camak. The witnesses to the will were the Prior of Wallingford and John James, who was a resident at Wallingford, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, the possessor of several manors within the honour, and much house property in the town.

On Joan's death, the castle and honour reverted to the crown.

1381. There were three priors of Wallingford who attained a position of considerable eminence as abbots of St. Albans. Another native of Wallingford made himself conspicuous in the cloistered town in a less peaceful sphere, and only escaped the penalty of death through the clemency of the crown. Richard Wallingford, for such was the name he bore, in the early years of this reign stood high in the municipal institutions of the town; he was headborough or constable, and in the insurrection of Wat Tyler allied himself to the rebels, and, as one of Tyler's lieutenants, was instrumental in obtaining from the king the charters in favour of the town, which were afterwards cancelled as having been extorted by force. Wallingford was indicted with other conspirators and found guilty, but, although an active rebel, he marvellously escaped capital punishment, while others of his companions were condemned to death, and sentenced to be drawn and hanged, trussed on the gallows, embowelled, and quartered. The leniency shown to Wallingford was probably due to his reluctance to join his chief in the fearful excesses that were committed, and it appears also that, at the critical time when the monks of St. Albans were at their wits' end to preserve their church

and save their lives, Wallingford unexpectedly appeared, and succeeded, with the help of a fellow-townsmen, in drawing off the rabble from the abbey. The death of the idol tyrant at the hands of the lord mayor Walworth was then divulged, and suddenly the fury of the rebels abated, and the revolt was quelled by a troop of horse acting under a royal proclamation.

Many convictions are recorded in this reign for brewing contrary to the assize, for selling ale by the cup, and meat, shoes, etc., too dear. Several women were presented for being common scandal-mongers day and night; and Sir Hugh, Rector of St. Peter's, was fined 1s. for having drawn blood from Joan Roundel unjustly, and also 4d. for committing the offence of homsokene (invasion of the sanctity of the house); and skimmers and tilers were amerced 3d. each for charging for their labour too dearly.

The fearful visitation in the last reign had a disastrous effect on the prosperity of the town, but what also must have materially affected the welfare of the inhabitants was the absence of those royal state visits which had hitherto taken place with so much splendour at the castle. The fact that a great change had taken place is proved by the inability of the corporation to pay the fee farm, which, on petition, the king reduced from £40 to £17 per annum. Still there existed in the town twelve parish churches, and the Burghmote rolls in this reign do not show such a marked diminution of business as to lead to the inference that the borough was almost depopulated, as has been represented by one or two authors.

In 1390 the king held a great tournament in London. Various entertainments accompanied the tilting, and open house was kept up at the king's expense during the whole four days the festivities lasted. Soon after this the king sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them £1000, which they refused. The king was greatly angered "at this insolence of the citizens," and, to abate their pride, the mayor, the sheriffs, and the "best citizens" were arrested, deposed, and imprisoned, one of the sheriffs and probably others in the Castle of Wallingford; the city privileges were revoked, and laws abrogated. Ultimately the king abated the rigour of his judgment, and granted a pardon

and restitution of privileges on receiving £10,000, which the Londoners, not being ignorant "that the end of these things was a money matter," willingly paid. Wallingford and the other castles released their prisoners, and "the troubles of the citizens came to quietnesse."

John Beaufort, Marquis of Somerset and Dorset, succeeded the Earl of Oxford as constable, and towards the close of the reign of King Richard (who dates from Wallingford in August, 1399) William de Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, Sir Henry Greene, and Sir William Bagot, the three knights being members of the House of Commons and the king's favourites, were appointed to guard the castle, his affianced queen, Isabella of Valois, having been hastily removed from Windsor to Wallingford as the stronger fortress on the landing of the usurper. Here she remained while England was lost by her royal lord and won by his rival, Henry of Bolingbroke. The king yielded himself a prisoner, and the garrisons of Windsor and Wallingford surrendered.

Whither the young queen went after the surrender is not quite clear, but she was hurried towards Sunning, and probably from place to place. She took an active part in the effort to regain the throne for her deposed husband. One romantic incident in connection with Wallingford is worth recording. The king was a prisoner at Pontefract Castle. The confederate lords fled to arms, and, dressing up the chaplain, Mandelain, in royal robes, proclaimed that the late king had escaped from his gaolers, and Isabella was told that he was in full march to meet her at the head of 100,000 men. Overjoyed at this news, the enthusiastic girl-queen ordered the badges of Henry IV. to be torn from her household and replaced by those of her royal husband. Accompanied by her brother-in-law, the Earl of Kent, and his allies, she proceeded to Wallingford and Abingdon, expecting to meet her king triumphant at the head of a loyal army; but suddenly, as she approached Cirencester, she was captured by Henry IV., and the fact was disclosed to her that the Richard whom she hoped to meet was but a counterfeit in royal robes to deceive the common people. The doom of Richard was sealed. Within a very short time either starvation or the halberts of his keepers put an end

to his unhappy life. Misery and close restraint attended the maiden widow, then in her thirteenth year, till her restoration to France some months afterwards.

HENRY IV.

Thomas Chaucer was a favourite of the late king, and held high office in his household. He was equally fortunate in this reign, and was the recipient of several royal grants. In 1399, King Henry, on his accession to the throne, granted to him the offices of constable of the castle and seneschal (steward) of the honours of Wallingford and St. Valerie and of the Chiltern Hundreds for life. He was to receive therefrom £40 a year, with £10 additional for his deputy, and twenty marks per annum from the fee farm of Wallingford. All the malt and corn that were in the castle on certain specified days he was to have as a free gift; and at a later period (1404) the king released to him all the provisions that were in the offices of the household of the Lady Isabella within the castle after her removal (valued at £78 9s. 9d.), together with certain debts and all the money due to the king for the escape of felons from the gaol of Wallingford.

Several letters from the king are dated from the castle in 1402. They refer to the destination of the young Isabella, and to her jewels and paraphernalia, which the king had seized and divided amongst his children. One of the letters, addressed to his ambassador in France, aims at obtaining a legal acquittance from the maiden queen of her claim to dower, to which the council had decided she had no claim owing to her tender age.

As in the former reign so in this, the muniments of the corporation show that there was no laxity in the enforcement of the penal laws against traders, several of whom were prosecuted and fined for different illegal acts, "taking in excess" being the most common; some for selling eels "corrupt and dead," and common scandal-mongers and scolds came in for their fair share of punishment.

There is a great variety in the number of seals appended to royal precepts, deeds, etc., relating to the town. They have many devices impressed in red, white, and green wax,

and are chiefly in good preservation. Nearly all are pendent, a few attached by two strings of coloured silk, and some are enclosed in linen bags. A fine seal of the Priory of Wallingford¹ is attached to a deed of the fifteenth century. Crosses and sprigs of flowers often occur, and among the armorial bearings is the lion rampant of Richard Earl of Cornwall. All the earlier grants and deeds have, in addition to the seal, a large number of witnesses.

A bill in the early part of this reign is mentioned for making the borough stocks, and subsequent entries appear for repairing the pillory and trebucket (ducking-stool), and also the tumbrel or tombereau; this was a two-wheeled cart so constructed as to be let down, in which the law-breaker was drawn through the town, exposed to the scorn and ridicule of the people. An erection of a later date for confining the necks, hands, and legs, combining the pillory, whipping-post, and stocks, existed in Wallingford until about the year 1880, when the pillory was removed, and the stocks were left to warn the drunkard of his fate. The combined erection occupied a conspicuous position in the market-place on the west of the town hall, and was designed to hold four delinquents, namely, two in the stocks, one at the whipping-post, and one in the pillory at the top. The stocks, as well as the pillory and whipping-post, fell into disuse, and on removal in an imperfect state were kindly given by the corporation to the author.

HENRY V.

By letters patent dated June, 1414, the king granted to his stepmother, Joanna, the queen dowager, licence to live during his absence in any of his castles of Windsor, Wallingford, Berkhamstead, or Hertford. It is doubtful which of the castles she selected, but we find five years afterwards that she was arrested on a charge of witchcraft, and for "dealing with the powers of darkness for the king's destruction;" she was committed a close prisoner, and deprived of all dower possessions and personal property.

Two days after the king came to the throne, Thomas Chaucer, who retained the office of constable of the castle, and had large possessions within the honour, was appointed

chief butler of England, with all profits. In that capacity he had an assignment of £2842 to purchase wine for the use of the king, who was going abroad. This large sum was to be raised in certain proportions from the treasurer of England (£947 6s. 8*d.*), and from London, Southampton, and other ports. Chaucer was Sheriff of Berks and Oxon, a member in several parliaments, and speaker of the House of Commons in 1415, and he held various diplomatic appointments. He died in the year 1400, seized conjointly with Matilda his wife of the Manor of Ewelme, which was annexed to the Honour of Wallingford. They were both buried in St. John's Chapel, in Ewelme Church. I have spoken of this Thomas Chaucer as the son of the renowned Geoffrey, but it is by no means clear that the poet ever had a son named Thomas. That Thomas occupied a high position and rank in the country his important public appointments show; but the general opinion appears to be that he was the illegitimate son of John of Gault by Philippa, a sister of Catherine Swynford, who afterwards married Geoffrey Chaucer. Spaght, in his life of the poet, states that King Edward III. gave Maud, the daughter and heir of Sir John Burgherst, Knight, in marriage to Thomas Chaucer, in recompense "of his father's services, and to the great increase of his living and amendment of blood." Alice, who married first the Earl of Salisbury, and secondly, in 1431, William de la Pole, fourth Earl and first Duke of Suffolk, was the issue of this marriage. Her first husband was killed during the siege of Orleans, where he was serving as captain with the earl.

In June, 1420, the king married the Lady Katherine of Valois, surnamed "the Fair," on whom he settled, as part of her dower, the Castle and Honour of Wallingford, with the Honour of St. Valerie and the neighbouring manors of Bensington and Nettlebed. This settlement embraced the dower possessions of which the unfortunate widow of Henry IV. had been deprived. The king's letter announcing the engagement is set out in the larger history, and is noted as one of the earliest specimens extant of English prose. The festivities of the royal wedding were succeeded the next day by the siege of Sens, and the honeymoon was spent among the horrors of war. An heir to the throne

was born in December, 1421, and nine months afterwards the king died. The Castle of Wallingford was made a summer residence for Henry VI., but it would seem the honour was retained by the queen up to the time of her death in 1437.

HENRY VI.

Soon after the death of the king, Queen Katherine became attached to Owen Tudor, a handsome Welsh soldier who had fought at Agincourt, and was squire of the body of the infant king. Wallingford being one of the dower palaces of the queen, it is probable that the royal infant and his mother resided at the castle here during some portion of the earlier years of her widowhood, when this attachment sprung up; but a cloud of mystery hangs over her history. She lived in the utmost retirement, and, beyond the fact that she gave birth to three sons successively, little is known of her movements or actions. Her connection, however, with the Castle of Wallingford appears to have ended in 1428, when the royal son, then seven years old, was taken out of her care and consigned wholly to the management of his governor and preceptor, the Earl of Warwick, the castles of Wallingford and Hertford in the summer, and Windsor and Berkhamstead in the winter, being the appointed residences, and it was determined that the young Duke of York should continually reside with him.

Queen Katherine ended her chequered life in 1437, and a year after Owen Tudor, with a priest and servant, having escaped from Newgate, where he had been imprisoned, was recaptured by the Duke of Gloucester and committed to the care of the Earl of Suffolk, in the dungeons of the Castle of Wallingford. The warrant for his imprisonment ends with an order from the king to the constable to deliver up to the treasurer of the Exchequer the fourscore and nine pounds that were found on the priest. After a time Owen was remanded back to Newgate, and with his priest and servant made a second escape; he fled to North Wales, but on the defeat and death of Richard Duke of York, a Lancastrian army took him prisoner, and he was beheaded in Hereford market-place, with two or three of his comrades.

The poverty of the town in 1439 obliged the corporation

to petition the king to be discharged from the fee ferm, then amounting to £42 per annum. A commission of inquiry was appointed, and in the report of the commissioners it is recited that the original rent was £80 and a cloak of 100s., reduced to £40 "burnt and weighed;" that in the town at that time there were eleven parishes well and sufficiently built and inhabited, with one parish church in each of them, with chaplains and clerks daily officiating; that the burgesses held the town, and received yearly from rent of assize from the tenants, £14, from two views of frankpledge and courts, £10, from divers guilds for their franchise and liberty, £7, and from fines of buyers and sellers and tolls in fairs and markets, £10; that afterwards the town decayed, and the remaining inhabitants¹ could scarcely pay half the fee ferm; that reductions had been made by Richard II. and Henry V. for limited periods, which had expired. It further recited that many of the inhabitants, on account of the heavy misfortunes that had arisen and the desolation of their houses by pestilence and epidemic, had departed with their families from the town, "leaving not more than forty-four householders," whose names were appended. The king thereupon, compassionating the poverty of the mayor and burgesses, discharged them from the fee ferm, and directed the commissioners to treat with the corporation for a new holding of the town at a rent more befitting its condition.

On the death of Queen Katherine, her son the king became possessed of the Honour of Wallingford. The office of constable of the castle, which was conferred on William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, on Chaucer's death in 1434, was held by him up to 1441, when it was granted conjointly to him and Alice his wife for life, and on a renewal of the grant about four years afterwards, it was extended to their son John. With the grant they received a salary of £50 per annum, £10 of which was for their deputy, and they were appointed joint stewards of the honour. Distinctions were heaped upon Earl William. In 1444 he was created marquis, and in 1448 duke, and as minister of the crown was all-powerful in the government of the country. Soon, however, the varying fortunes of the great in that age checked his onward career. The popular clamour set in against him; he was accused of having acted faithlessly to his royal master,

and to have furnished the Castle of Wallingford with warlike munition to aid the French king, to whom it was said he had sold the realm. The duke was committed to the Tower, but found guilty only of some minor charges, for which he was exiled. On his passage across the British Channel, he was met by an armed force in a ship of war, which had been sent out to assassinate him. Drawn out of his ship with the ominous salutation, "Welcome, traitor," a mock trial ensued; but his fate had been determined beforehand. "With a rusty sword one of the lowliest of the crew smote off his head with half a dozen strokes," and no inquiry was made into the circumstances of his death, so powerless was the crown against the violent party which had sworn the duke's destruction. This bloody drama was followed by the forfeiture of all his honours; his estates were confiscated, and his blood attainted. The king, however, at once made a provision for the widow of his murdered minister, and by a grant six days after the duke's death a special concession secured to Alice Duchess of Suffolk the custody of all lordships, castles, manors, and lands which had belonged to her late husband. A year elapsed, and the duchess in 1451 resigned her late husband's possessions, and gave up the custody of Wallingford Castle and the honour, which with other lands were committed to the keeping of Sir Thomas Scales and Sir Miles Stapleton till 1453, when a regrant was made to the duchess by the king, and ratified by parliament. What induced the duchess to give up her possessions does not appear, but the country at the time was in a very unsettled state, and a formidable insurrection occurred, headed by the rebel murderer Jack Cade, who, having met with a temporary success and secured the occupation of London, caused the duchess to be indicted for treason at the Guildhall. Nor was this rancorous feeling against her confined to such men as Cade; the parliament itself showed hostility towards the Suffolk family. The king, however, still befriended the duchess, and to him she was indebted in a great measure for the retention of her position and possessions. A year or two elapsed, and the struggle between the contending houses of York and Lancaster was renewed. The first battle of St. Albans terminated in favour of the former, and the faithless duchess deserted the house of Lancaster, to which she owed so much, and gave her support to that of the Duke of York, and

as constable of Wallingford Castle she received the Duke of Exeter, a supporter of the Lancastrian party who had been taken prisoner by the victorious Yorkists. The Earl of Worcester was directed by the Government to repair to the castle for the alleged purpose of taking charge of the duke, but more likely as a spy on the constable herself ; she, however, asserted exclusive jurisdiction within the precincts of the castle, and the earl was recalled.

The alliance of the Duchess of Suffolk with the house of York secured to her the custody of Wallingford Castle, and when, in October, 1460, the parliament decided that the Duke of York should be acknowledged the lawful heir to the monarchy, her tenure of that office was rendered more secure, and she appears to have held it up to the year 1471, if not to the time of her death.

Henry, who was a king only in name, and deposed in 1461, became a wanderer from one place of concealment to another, till at last, in 1465, he was betrayed and conducted to the Tower, where five years afterwards the courageous but unfortunate queen consort, Margaret of Anjou, was brought a prisoner. She had fought with indomitable courage in almost every province of England till her capture after the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. The first night of her captivity, King Henry, so long imprisoned, was put to death, and she was made a widow. Her imprisonment at first was very rigorous, but after a time, says Miss Strickland, it was ameliorated through the compassionate influence of Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and Margaret was removed first to Windsor and afterwards to Wallingford, where she was under the charge of Alice Chaucer, Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, her old favourite. Five marks a week were allotted by Edward IV. for the maintenance of the unfortunate Margaret during her imprisonment in Wallingford Castle. Her father, King René, was unwearied in his exertions for her liberation, which was at length accomplished at the sacrifice of his inheritance of Provence to Louis XI. for half its value, and the payment of fifty thousand crowns by five instalments. The first instalment of her ransom was paid to King Edward's treasurer in November, 1475, and the broken-hearted widow, after five years' captivity, was conducted from her prison at

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Wallingford to Sandwich, where she embarked for France, having signed a formal renunciation of all rights which her marriage in England had given her, in favour of her son, King Edward V.

The death of the duchess took place at her mansion house at Ewelme in May, 1475, and we may add that her gradual and successful rise in the world was remarkable. Born the daughter of a gentleman, whose illustrious descent has been questioned, she became by marriage a countess, and then she reached the higher dignities of marchioness and duchess. She held the principal place of honour about the person of the queen. The robes of the Garter were bestowed upon her, and she lived to see her son the brother-in-law of sovereigns, and her grandchildren princes and princesses.

THE FAMILY OF DE LA POLE.

A little extended reference to the family of the De la Poles, who were so long associated with Wallingford and Ewelme, may not be without interest. The history shows the vicissitudes to which the great in the land were subjected. From a pinnacle of splendour so dazzling as to savour more of romance than reality, the family fell to a depth of misfortune, disaster, and misery, which more or less dogged the steps of nearly every member. The founder of this great house was William de la Pole, a merchant trader at Kingston-on-Hull, where he lived in sumptuous style in the reign of Edward I. Two of his sons, Richard and William, were created knights, and it appears it was to them, and not to the father, the date of whose death has not been ascertained, that Edward III. was indebted for great pecuniary help at the time when his resources were entirely exhausted and his credit was at its lowest ebb. The border wars increased these financial difficulties, and in 1339 Sir William pledged his whole estate and again rescued the king from extreme danger. The king acknowledged his indebtedness up to June, 1339, to the two brothers (whom he called his beloved merchants) at over £76,000, a marvellous sum for a loan in those days. It appears, by one of the documents, that the brothers undertook to find £20 every day for the

expenses of the royal household, and as much wine as should be necessary for the same household. In many instances the port dues at Hull and other places were to be charged as a security, and so early as 1328 (the year after the king's accession) this mode of security was adopted, and included a moiety of the customs in the port of London. The elevation of the family was secured by these pecuniary sacrifices. Sir William was made first gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and chief baron of the Exchequer during the royal pleasure. Sir Richard was made chief butler, and afterwards, with his brother, gauger of wine throughout the kingdom; and they were advanced to other places of honour and profit, besides having the grant of various privileges and exemptions. The son and successor of Sir William was Sir Michael. He served under the Black Prince in the French wars, and had the command of the fleet. He was made a baron by Edward III.; afterwards, in 1385, by Richard II., Earl of Suffolk, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Chancellor of England. Designated the "fighting chancellor," he inaugurated his legal career by serving as a banneret in the Scottish wars, and was considered one of the most powerful noblemen of his day. Jealousy of his exaltation and his own imperious will brought upon him ruin. He was accused of defrauding the crown, and afterwards of treason; the great seal was taken from him; he was attainted, his estates and property were confiscated in the 10 & 11 Richard II., and as a fugitive from his country, disguised as a Flemish poulterer, he died an outlaw and an exile, and was indebted to foreign alms for medical aid and a Christian burial. According to Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," he filled the office of lord chancellor with unspotted integrity, and he retained the friendship and good opinion of the king, notwithstanding the opposition of the disaffected lords. His son, Sir Michael, got the sentence against his father annulled by Richard II., and himself restored to the castles and manors and earldom of Suffolk by Henry IV. This second earl sustained the glory of his race under Henry V. in the invasion of France, and sealed the victory with his life at the battle of Harfleur in September, 1415. The third earl, also Sir Michael, bore the title for about a month only, and

was killed on the battle-field of Agincourt. The king brought the body of the young earl to London, and conveyed it with all the honours of a triumphal procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, where the archbishops and bishops performed the service of the dead, and then his remains were borne to his brother William's manor of Ewelme and there buried. Of the fourth earl, William, first Duke of Suffolk, who was murdered at sea by a crew of ruffians, much has already been said, but we may add that he distinguished himself at the memorable siege of Orleans. Having the command of the besieging army, he withstood the furious assaults led on by Joan of Arc, till his bravest efforts failed, owing to the drooping spirits of his men. And now we come to John, the son of the last-named duke, whose contemplated matrimonial alliance with the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, the second daughter of the Duke of York, it is said, was a powerful motive which led to the complete defection of his mother, Alice Duchess of Suffolk, from the house of Lancaster. The marriage of the princess, who was sister of King Richard III. and of the late King Edward IV., took place, and brought back the sequestered estates and honour of the family. The title of duke was restored, and his reversionary interest in the office of constable and steward of Wallingford Castle and Honour was revived. An annuity of one hundred marks was granted to him and the duchess out of the rents of the honour, and in 1471 the formal appointments of constable and steward were made. These offices he held till September, 1482, when Sir Richard Grey, son of the queen, was appointed; but whether the duke was superseded or resigned, does not appear. The eldest son of this marriage was created Earl of Lincoln, and ruled as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was declared by his uncle, Richard III., to be heir to the crown; but the battle of Bosworth field and the fall of the house of York dispelled the dream of royalty, and the marriage of the Lancastrian conqueror to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., secured the union of the two rival families, the Red and White Rose. Within a month after the accession of Henry VII. we find the Suffolk family again in favour, and the head of it, who had borne the badge of hostility to the Lancastrians, reinstated

in the office of constable of the castle for life ; and at the coronation of the victorious Richmond, in October, 1485, the duke bore the royal sceptre, and acted as a loyal subject. His son also paid homage to the new king, and obtained the royal favour. A similar deviation from the path of consistency had marked the family career in previous reigns, and on the death of Edward IV. the duke and duchess were found to be "mean deserters of their brother's blood." They tacitly consented to the deposition of Edward V., and gave their support to Richard on his usurpation of the crown. The duke, however, appears loyally to have served the king ; not so his son, who, with a large force of troops, asserted his right to the throne. Defeat resulted from the rebel enterprise, and the earl fell at the battle of Stoke in 1487. He was attainted of high treason, and all his honours and lands were forfeited. The rebellious action of the son seems to have rendered insecure the tenure of the office of constable by the father, and Sir William Stoner and Sir Thomas Lovell were appointed provisionally in case of surrender, forfeiture, resumption, or privation ; but it appears the duke continued to hold on till within a year of his death, in 1491. According to Camden, he died of grief, occasioned by his son's rebellion.

The empty title without the means of supporting it, the family possessions having been forfeited, now descended on the late duke's elder brother, Edmund, who made an unsuccessful attempt to get back the lost inheritance ; but all the king would do was to restore on certain conditions some of the forfeited lands, and among them in this neighbourhood were Ewelme, Newnham-Courtney, Lewknor, Aston Tyrrold, and Garsington. One of the conditions was that he should surrender his father's dukedom in consideration of being accepted as Earl of Suffolk. This he did by deed dated 1493, and the constablership of the castle, which had almost become hereditary in the Suffolk family, passed to Arthur Prince of Wales, with the Honour and ferm of Wallingford. Edmund was one of the last persons of rank remaining of the Yorkists. He took up arms in the early part of Henry VII.'s reign, but without success. Twice he fled from his country, wandered about in Germany in great distress, till he was delivered over to his enemy of the house of Lan-

caster, and, after suffering imprisonment in the Tower for seven years, he was there beheaded in April, 1513. Richard, his only remaining brother, was an exile in France, dependent on the king, in whose service he was employed against his native country. Slain in battle in 1524, he was the last heir of a brave and talented race, and thus in a century and a half, within which period grandeur and misery were alike conspicuous, the family of the De la Poles became extinct. But a lasting memorial remains in the parish church of Ewelme, which the Earl of Suffolk rebuilt in 1435. Therein a large and handsome tomb of alabaster, elaborately ornamented under a richly sculptured canopy, with no less than fifty alabaster figures of angels about it, marks the burial-place of Alice, the dowager duchess, and other members of the family. A full-sized figure of the duchess surmounts the tomb, a lion at her feet, and the garter a little above the wrist on the left arm.

Adjoining the churchyard are the almshouses, and close by the school-house, which were founded and endowed by the duke and duchess. The original endowment of this charitable institution, which was to be called "God's house," was one hundred marks annually for the support of two chaplains and thirteen poor men, now extended to their wives. Afterwards the founders obtained the king's permission to substitute for the annual money payment the manors of Marsh in Bucks, Counok in Wilts, and Bamridge in Hants, which are still held, but that part of the charity respecting the school appears to have lapsed.

EDWARD IV. AND RICHARD III.

Another recipient of honours and appointments freely bestowed at the close of the reign of Edward IV., and early in the short reign of Richard III., was Francis Lovell, Knight, of Minster-Lovell, Oxfordshire. He was created viscount, and became a favourite minister of the crown. In 1483 he had a grant of the office of constable of Wallingford Castle and steward of the honour and four hundreds for life, with power to appoint a lieutenant and all officers and ministers. He was present at the battle of Bosworth, and succeeded in making his escape. About two years after-

wards, in Henry VII.'s first parliament, Lord Lovell, with others of the late King Richard's adherents, was convicted and attainted of high treason, and deprived of all honours, estates, and dignity, including the guardianship of the castle and steward of the honour. In the next year he stirred up, with the Staffords, and probably with the Earl of Lincoln, rebellion throughout the kingdom; but it appears he had neither courage nor capacity for such an enterprise, and secretly escaped to Flanders, where he was protected by the Duchess of Burgundy. How Lord Lovell ended his days is a matter of doubt. According to Speed, he was slain at the battle of Stoke; but Carte considers that he escaped, and lived long after in a cave or vault. This opinion is strengthened by the discovery in 1708, in an underground room at the mansion at Minster-Lovell, of a figure of a venerable old man sitting in a great chair, resting his elbow on a table. The remains were supposed to be those of Lord Lovell, but crumbled to dust on being exposed to the air.

HENRY VII.

In the year 1488, the king granted to Stephen Bereworth, M.D., dean of the college of St. Nicholas in the castle, an annuity of £40 out of the issues of the honour as a reward for his medical attendance on Prince Arthur, the king's eldest son, and in consideration of the grantee's cordial affection and good service to the king.

Some years after the corporation marked their sense of the doctor's good qualities by adopting a resolution that he and Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., with whom he was associated, "shullen be prayed for terms of their lives, in every parish church of Wallingford foresaid, every Sunday, for their good prosperity and welfare, for their good deeds that they have done to our said town. And every curate to have for his labours every year iiij^d and his dinner to be paid by the baylies in the day of the obit holden. And after their lives, to have *Dirige* and Masses for their souls, and for all the burgesses' souls, departed to God before this time, yearly; the first year to be kept at Saint Mary's, the second year at Saint Peter's, the third year at Saint Leonard's, and the fourth year at Allhallows; and there every burgess shall offer j^d to

the curate, and he that maketh default, to lose vi^d, without lawful excuse."

In 1507, the king granted the town unto the mayor, his brethren, and their successors, for the term of forty-two years at the reduced rent of £15 per annum. This large reduction shows how greatly the prosperity of the town continued to decrease. The expenses attending the obtaining the letters patent are thus entered :

	£	s.	d.
Fees to the Exchequer	2	3	2
" " Great Seal	1	0	4
Travelling expenses of William Adene the elder and John Hamson, bailies, as under :			
Supper at Brentford	0	1	3
At Richmond, for breakfast at Sharpe's	0	1	9
Horsemeat at Brentford	0	1	0
Two suppers at London, with Master Reynelde and other company ...	0	2	0
Spended at a supper at London, with clerks of the Exchequer	0	2	6
Spended at Richmond, on gentlemen's servants with the signet	0	0	10
For bedding and boat hire	0	3	0
Horsemeat, 4 days and 3 nights ...	0	4	3
A box to put in our Charter	0	0	2
Gifts to the clerks, controllers and their friends	0	7	8
	<hr/>		
	£4	7	11

In 1500, the king granted to the town the right to hold in perpetuity two fairs annually.

In addition to the many ancient documents with which the corporation chest abounds, the municipal body possesses two large folio books in good preservation, called the "Ledger" Book and the "Statute" Book. The earliest in date commences 22 Henry VII., and has this heading, "Actys made by Mastr Mayore of y^e Borogh theyr." Page 1 contains a list of the corporation in April, 1508. The mayor,

three aldermen, and eleven burgesses are named as being in office, including the recorder, and the names of eleven burgesses appear as being out of office. The offices held by the burgesses were those of two bailiffs, two constables, two mace-bearers, two victual-tasters, and two other (ale) tasters.

Among the earlier entries are in substance the following :—

Every stall-keeper at the fairs of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist, and every Sherey Thursday, to pay 1*d.* per day.

Certain orders as to the fish-market are inserted. Penalty of 1*s.* on buyer and seller for forestalling the poultry-market, which was to be held at the cross.

Any man that misbehaveth himself against Master Mayor, or any of the aldermen, to lose every time 6*s.* 8*d.*

A lease of shops under Guildhall to Alderman Adene and others is mentioned.

No man's servant nor apprentice to be out of his master's house any night-time, after nine of the clock, without a lawful excuse, under pain, any time so found trespassing, 12*d.*, and his body to ward.

Four men to go about the town and assess the town watch, according to right and old custom.

Servants were forbidden to play at tables, dice, or cards on working days, both by night and day, in any ale-house or tippling-house, under penalty, on the master of 12*d.*, and on the servant of 4*d.*

All tipsters were to set forth their signs and ale-poles before their places at all times, when they had ale to sell, and to sell ale at the door by lawful measure, by pot, under pain of 12*d.*

Not much attention appears to have been given to the sanitary condition of the town. Kine were only restricted from straying into the streets at night from the first of October to Hocktide, and hogs were allowed to go out into the streets at all times with a keeper. Probably, in mediæval Wallingford, these animals were the only scavengers. Like other old towns, the gutters ran down the centre of the narrow unmetalled streets, and were no doubt the natural receptacles of all kinds of filth, thrown from the

undrained houses, wherein the inhabitants were huddled together without any appreciable approach to cleanliness or comfort. The only ordinance for cleansing the streets had no general application; it imposed a fine of 3s. 4d. on dwellers adjoining the market-place who neglected to cleanse the streets against their houses before Michaelmas fair.

HENRY VIII.

In the early part of this reign various ordinances were "enacted by Master Mayor" at the great courts, chiefly relating to trade :—

Brewers were to sell thirteen gallons to the dozen of ale for 22d. so long as a quart of malt was not more than 8s., and tipsters to sell out-of-doors a quart of ale for a half-penny.

Bakers were to make four loaves for a penny and two loaves for a penny, and "no penny bread but it be spoken."

No corn was to be sold nor sack pitched but in the market, there to remain till the bell rang at eleven o'clock, under penalty of 20d. both on seller and buyer.

Among the appointments made by the king in the first and second years of his reign were those of Brian Tuke, clerk of the signet, as Feodory of Wallingford and St. Valerie, and Geoffrey Dormer in succession; of William Norborough as porter of the castle, and Thomas Ward yeoman harbinger in survivorship; and in 1510 John Underhill, B.C.L., was appointed to the deanery of St. Nicholas College, void by the resignation of Stephen Bereworth.

Subsidies were granted to the king from time to time by the borough, the amounts varying from £8 to £15 per annum, exclusive of the subsidy paid by the prior of Wallingford for spiritualities and temporalities, which in the fourth year exceeded £10. The sums assessed varied from 6s. 8d. to 4d.

Two gaol deliveries for the castle are recorded, the first in 1515, four judges presiding on each occasion.

Among the recipients of the royal gifts on New Year's Day in that year, which amounted to £11,113, was the dean of the college, John Underhill; for going to Canterbury with the king's offering of 3s. 4d. at the shrine of Thomas

à Becket, he received 40*s.*, of which 20*s.* were for his costs.

It appears from the following letter that the court were in residence at the castle in 1518; the secretary of state, writing to Cardinal Wolsey from Wallingford, states, "I could not send by the bearer the commission signed by the king, as he is gone in hunting. To-morrow the king leaves for Bisham, as it is time, for they do die in these parts in every place, not only of the small pokkes and mezils, but also of the great sickness." The commission mentioned referred to the ceding of Tournay to the French king at the instance of Wolsey, and to the latter's appointment as legate, whereby he was invested with sole power, both ecclesiastical and civil.

It is stated by Elias Ashmole, and in the "Beauties of England and Wales," that the Castle and Manor of Wallingford were made over by the king to Wolsey, and that upon his attainder they were reannexed to the crown; but documentary evidence is wanting to show that anything more passed to the cardinal than the tithes of the college of St. Nicholas, the priory estates, and some small portion of the large possessions of the honour in other parts.

In 1527, the king granted a lease for twenty-one years to Lambert Osbaston as mayor of Wallingford and to his successors of thirty-three acres of meadow near the castle, called King's Meadow, at a rent of £7 2*s.* of increase. This mead adjoining the river was let by the corporation in small allotments to the burgesses, and various orders appear in the corporation ledger respecting the fencing, quicksetting, etc. The king also granted a lease for twenty-one years to John Underhill, dean of the college, of two water-mills called Wallingford Mills, at the annual rent of £8 6*s.* 8*d.* of increase.

Sir Henry Norris, a grandson of Sir William Norris, who was commander of the king's army at the battle of Stoke in 1487, was appointed constable of Wallingford Castle in 1535, and steward of the honour and four hundreds, with the usual fees, and an annual rent of £50. He removed here from Ewelme, where he was keeper of the park, in order better to discharge the duties of his more important post. He was squire of the body of the king, and one of the

gentlemen of his privy chamber. Within six months of his appointment as constable, on the fatal May day of 1536, he and Lord Rochford were in the lists as defender and challenger at the jousts at Greenwich, when Anne Boleyn appeared for the last time in the pomp of royalty with her treacherous consort. In the midst of the splendid pageant, it is said that Norris picked up the handkerchief which the queen, either by accident or design, had dropped in the lists, and, touching his face with it, returned it to her. The story is discredited by several authors, but the king rose abruptly, quitted the royal balcony "in a transport of jealous fury," and gave orders for the arrest of the queen and all the parties who had fallen under suspicion of sharing her favours. The sports broke up; Norris, Rochford, and three others of the privy chamber were arrested on a charge of high treason. With the promise of his life if he would tell the truth, Norris asserted his belief that the queen was innocent of the things laid to her charge, adding that he would die a thousand deaths rather than ruin an innocent person. A trial and conviction, not very difficult of attainment in those days, ensued, and Norris and his companions in misfortune were beheaded on Tower Hill. Two days after, the queen underwent the same cruel fate; on the day next after her execution, the king was formally betrothed to Jane Seymour, whom he married a few days afterwards.

In 1540, parliament sanctioned the annexation of the Honour of Wallingford to the Manor of Ewelme, thus separating it from the Duchy of Cornwall. In consequence of such annexation, the annual dance on Hock Tuesday, which had been kept up within the borough at sumptuous cost from ancient times, was discontinued.

EDWARD VI.

In this reign Sir Francis Knollys, knight, was appointed for life constable of the castle, steward of the Honour of Ewelme, and keeper of Ewelme Park, with power to appoint the keepers. He represented the county of Oxford in parliament for many years, and held important offices in the royal household. He was installed Knight of the Garter, and died at the age of eighty-two, having had issue by his wife

Katherine, daughter of William Carre, Esq., and lady of Queen Elizabeth's bedchamber, sixteen children.

Although not in chronological order, it may be convenient to refer here to two or three members of the family who were connected with Wallingford.

The eldest son of Sir Francis was Henry. He was appointed in 1578 constable of the Castle and Manor of Wallingford, and keeper of Ewelme Park, with the other offices which were granted to his father for life. He was esquire of the body-guard of Queen Elizabeth, and died in December, 1582. The second son was William, who in June, 1584, was appointed keeper of Ewelme Park, with other offices, for life. In 1596 he was made comptroller of the household of the queen, and in 1600 treasurer. The next year the constablenesship of the castle and manor was conferred upon him, at a fee of £50 per annum; and in the 1 James I. he was created Baron of Rotherfield Grays. On the 19th of January, 1606, eleven weeks after the death of his first wife (who was daughter of Lord Bray and widow of Edmond Lord Chandos), Lord Knollys married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, the bride being his junior by thirty-eight years. In 1616 he was elected Knight of the Garter, and in November following (14 James II.) he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Wallingford, the ceremony taking place in Whitehall in the presence of the king, queen, and prince.

In 1621, he was appointed high steward of this borough. Charles I. conferred on Lord Wallingford the title of Earl of Banbury, and gave him a patent of precedence over certain peers whose patents were of earlier creation. The legality of the patent was called in question in parliament, and held to be directly contrary to the statute. The matter, however, was afterwards accommodated, and the earl was allowed to enjoy his patent of precedence for life. The earl died on May, 1632, aged eighty-eight years, and, as it would appear from the certificate of his widow and the *post-mortem* inquisition, he had no issue by either wife.

The fifth son, Richard of Stanford in the Vale (Berks), represented Wallingford in the queen's fifth parliament, which ended on the 14th of September, 1586; and three days afterwards his father, Sir Francis, addressed the following letter :—

"To my verie lovinge frends, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of Wallingforde, geve these ;—

"After my hartie comendacions, whereas her Ma^{ty} hathe by her proclamacion dyssolved this last parlyament, and intendethe presentlie to sumon A newe parliament, by reason of w^{ch} dyssolucon ye are to choose newlie Burgesses for the same, my request therefore unto you ys that you will grant me the nomynacion of one of your Burgesses for my Soonne, Rycharde Knollys, w^{ch} curtesie I shall thankfullie take at your handes, and be readie to requyte the same as occacion shall serve.

"So I byd you hartelie farewell; from the Tower of London, the xvijth of September, 1586.

"Your lovinge frende,

"F. KNOLLYS."

No reference to this letter appears in the minute-book of the corporation; but we find that Richard Knollys was again returned as member for the borough. Robert, son of the latter, was knighted in the year 1612, and sat for Abingdon in the second and for Wallingford in the third parliament of King Charles I. This Sir Robert acquired the manor of Rotherfield Grays, by purchase from his uncle, the Earl of Banbury, in 1631.

PHILIP AND MARY.

Prior to this reign the castle ceased to be a royal residence, and but little is mentioned concerning it, till the contest between Charles I. and his parliament, when the defences within the interior area were greatly strengthened. In 1555, an inquisition was taken for the purpose of ascertaining what materials were procurable from the outbuildings of the castle for the construction of works at Windsor Castle. It describes this once noble and impregnable fortress as being in greater desolation and ruin than ever it was. Still the despoiler's hand was not extended to the castle itself, but the outbuildings were stripped of many tons of lead for the construction of water-pipes at Windsor, and some other of the materials were used in the erection of the dwellings for the poor knights on the south side of

the lower ward of the castle, which was directed by the will of King Henry VIII.

An Act, so called, was passed by the corporation in the usual way which restrained the taking in of under-tenants, "unless they be persons of good reputation, and pay the same dues as the owners of the houses." By a renewal of the ordinance, a summary power of ejectment was given against those "not of good character."

Towards the close of Mary's reign, 1557-8, letters patent were granted ratifying the previous charters granted to the borough.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

A further quantity of lead was taken from the castle, as appears by state papers, for repairs of Windsor Castle.

A.D. 1560. Injunctions were issued by the queen for the better regulation of the inferior clergy, for keeping good order in the church, and for the proper observance of Sundays. The interpretation put by the bishops upon the last injunction was—"That incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will-men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales or Wallingford, and there to live of their own labour and exercise; and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors."

In the late ecclesiastical case of *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, the legal effect of these injunctions at the present day was referred to in the argument of counsel.

In September, 1568, the queen visited Wallingford, and went from thence to Newbury, accompanied by a considerable retinue of courtiers and attendants. Among the items of expenditure in the pay-book of the queen's progresses, preserved in the Bodleian Library, are the following relating to this visit: Carpenters employed to fit up presses for the robes and other necessities, 1s. a day; sand for sprinkling over the streets is charged 10*d.* the load; 3*s.* 9*d.* is the sum entered, for carriage of the tent and the court baggage from Wallingford to Newbury; total charges amounting to £4 1*s.* 5*d.*

The wealthy family of the Dunches, who were for a long

series of years connected with Wallingford, resided at the manor-house (since pulled down) in the neighbouring parish of Little Wittenham. Four members of the family represented the borough in parliament; the first return is recorded in 1562, and the political connection continued at intervals, down to the time of George I. A descendant of the family, Edmund Dunch, is said to have been made governor of Wallingford Castle, by his cousin, the Protector; he was created a baronet, and in 1658 (the year Cromwell died) was called to the Upper House by the title of Baron Burnell, a title of which he was deprived at the Restoration. He died in 1678.

Moule, in his "History of English Counties," refers to this family as remarkable for their tergiversation in politics.

The Dunches, however, were people of mark and weight in the county, and were allied to two other ancient Berkshire families—the Fettiplaces and the Hungerfords. The above-named Edmund was a son of Sir William Dunch, of Little Wittenham, who married Mary Cromwell, fourth daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell. Both Sir Henry and the Protector's eldest uncle, Sir Oliver, were staunch royalists.

There are several monuments to the memory of the Dunches in a chapel attached to the parish church of Little Wittenham; that to Sir William Dunch is of marble and alabaster, with the effigies of Sir William in armour, and that of his lady. The author of a pamphlet, entitled "The Mysteries of the Good Old Cause," published in 1660, speaking of Baron Burnell, says, "He was the husband of that fine Mrs. Dunch, was a great favourite with the Protector, and had a patent to be lord of the Lord knows what, and how little he deserves it."

Although we read of the "Doyleys of Wallingford Castle," it does not appear that any member of the family was officially connected with the fortress subsequent to the death of Robert Doyley, in 1090. As owners of property in the town, the connection continued apparently in the direct line of descendants. In 1601, Henry Doyley, barrister-at-law, was elected M.P. for Wallingford, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.

In the fatal year of 1577, Sir Robert Doyley was High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and fell a victim, with the lord chief

baron and many others, to the malignant disease known as the gaol fever that broke out in the Assize Court at Oxford, in the year mentioned.

Associated in the representation of the borough with the above-named Richard Knollys in the year 1586, and with Michael Molyns in the parliament of 1588, was Thomas Stampe, Esq., an ancestor of Henry Stampe, who was son of Isabel, the daughter of Sir Michael Molyns, of Clapcote, Knight, and a tablet to whose memory is affixed to the south wall of St. Mary's Church, in Wallingford.

The ledger of the corporation contains a long record of the transactions of the municipal body during this reign.

Orders were made by the mayor at the "Great Court" to prevent hogs being kept in the streets of the town, and to prevent tipplers from brewing within their houses. Three persons were admitted to be searchers of dogs and hand-guns. In an order respecting the market, the corporation agreed to give up their tolls on corn and other wares, live or dead, sold in the market on Fridays, and to allow the sale prices to be fixed by the buyers and sellers. By another order the inhabitants were forbidden to buy victuals except in the market-place, or to buy to sell again. Rules were prescribed with respect to the occupation of the king's mead, and neither the mayor nor the aldermen were to have more than three acres, nor the burgesses more than two acres each. The signatures attached to these rules, mostly by oddly shaped marks, do not exhibit much advance in orthography. The price of beer and bread was to be regulated by that of Reading, and the inhabitants were to rid the streets of their wood and timber, and to make clean the streets before their houses, within twelve days, on pain of a fine of 6s. 8d.

A series of bye-laws was adopted at a court held in 1597, which in the margin is explained to be "disposition of benevolences." No lease of borough or bridge property was to be granted except to the mayor or one of the aldermen or burgesses, except to the poor of the borough for habitation. No lease was to be made for longer than twenty years, except in consideration of great buildings made or to be made. Then follows an ordinance not very intelligible, which seems to aim at securing for the members of the corporate body the benefit of testamentary dispositions, not

expressly against the will of the testator. An Act was passed in the reign of Henry VII. for "the revival of benevolences," which at first sight appears to explain the meaning of the marginal, but this Act was little less than an extortionate means of raising money for state and not for municipal purposes.

JAMES I.

The Honour of Wallingford was assigned by James I. to his queen as part of her dowry, and afterwards to his son Prince Charles, and appointments were made to the offices of bailiff, collector of rents, and feodaries of the castle and domain thereof.

Sir William Knollys continued to hold the office of constable of the castle and steward of the honour. In that character he was lavish in his grants to divers persons of the ancient privileges and immunities of tenants of the honour, reciting in special instruments under seal his title, as treasurer of the king's household, Privy Councillor, and High Constable of the Castle of Wallingford and St. Valerie, to grant such privileges and immunities under the letters patent of Henry III., before mentioned. Among the Bridgewater Manuscripts is a copy of a certificate from Philip Style, dated December 26, 1661, "that crown tenants of the Honour of Wallingford and Berkhamstead are free from service at assize or sessions, and from all tolls in fairs and markets, and that Robert Wise, of Middleton Cheney, is thus privileged."

The Manor of Rotherfield Grays, part of the Honour of Wallingford, was granted to Lord Wallingford and his wife in 1621, with remainder to his heirs male. The constablenesship of the castle was conferred on Sir Thomas Howard, Knight, and Charles Howard, Esq., sons of the Earl of Suffolk, for life, in reversion after Lord Wallingford.

The town authorities appear to have been great advocates of temperance during this reign. No less than nine alehouse licences were suppressed in the last-mentioned year, but it must be noted that the benefactions to the poor amounted to £80 6s. 8d.

In 1624, a court of pleas is mentioned in the corporation

books and legal documents, and papers were to be kept by the mayor, who was to be fined for not locking them up, or not producing them when required.

CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

An early act of the king, in the year of his accession, was to borrow money of his subjects through the medium of the lord-lieutenants of the counties, who were to advise with the deputy lieutenants, and make returns to the Council of State of the names of private gentlemen and others within the county who were the fittest to contribute to the loan. The names of eighteen inhabitants of the borough, headed by Ambrose Cottrell, mayor, with the respective amounts at which their lands were assessed, are recorded in the old ledger, and by an entry therein, dated January 16, 1626, it appears they met the lord-lieutenant at Abingdon, and willingly yielded to the loan. Letters under the privy seal were directed to the persons named in the return. These letters set forth that princes had on extraordinary occasions resorted either to the general contributions of their subjects or to the private help of some in particular by way of loan—"forced to proceed in the latter course for the supply of treasure for public services; and this being the first time the king has required anything of this kind, he doubts not that [the recipient of the letter] will show his good affection, especially seeing the sum required, which is £ , is that which few men would deny to a friend." Then follows a promise of repayment within eighteen months. The collectors were to pay the loan into the exchequer within twelve days, and to return the names of the refusers.

A letter is also set out in the old ledger from Lord Walingford, who continued to hold the office of constable of the castle, respecting the billeting of soldiers in the town, with the terms. The soldiers remained over sixteen weeks at a cost of £158 8s., of which the district contributed £9 12s., and the king paid the remainder. In the same year a commission under the broad seal of England was sent to the mayor, and proclaimed in the market-place, to erect either gibbet or gallows in order to execute martial law upon guilty soldiers.

Sir Thomas Howard, son of the Earl of Suffolk, and brother-in-law of Lord Wallingford, was created Earl of Berkshire, and in 1632 high steward of the borough. A complimentary address from the corporation notified to his lordship his election to this "place of pre-eminence." The high steward, like his royal master, was driven to extremities to repair his diminished fortune. Three years after the appointment, he obtained a patent for constructing a new kind of kiln for making malt, and resorted to various expedients to get money by the monopoly; the operation was unsuccessful, and the projects, says Whitelock, were "dishonourable and illegal, and little better than cheats." We must not, however, regard the parliamentarian as an unprejudiced authority.

The earl took an active part in replenishing the royal exchequer by the imposition of the oppressive ship-money tax on all municipal corporations. The contribution of Wallingford, which was £20, in comparison with that of Reading, which was £220, shows the altered condition of the two towns since the time of the Conqueror, when Wallingford was the capital of the county, and contained a population far exceeding that of Reading. The tax, however, was probably regulated more by the trade of the town than its population. In Reading existed large mercantile establishments, in which the woollen manufacture in particular was carried on with great success; whereas Wallingford had no such manufactures, and depended mostly on its local trade, of which malting was the chief. Still the assessment was low, notwithstanding the poverty of the town, and was probably due to the friendly advocacy of the high steward. It cannot be said that the earl was equally considerate towards the general public. Not content with the imposition of an unpopular tax by the exercise of arbitrary power, he joined the Earl of Strafford in advising a more rigorous levy. As a natural consequence, a large section of the people were clamorous in denouncing the tax, and the first to put in issue its legality, on the ground that the sanction of parliament had not been obtained, was the famous John Hampden, who lost his life from a wound received in the neighbouring Chalgrove field, while charging the royalists. At length the adherence of the earl to the

cause of the king, and the measures he took to raise men for the royal service in the county of Oxford, led to his arrest. At Watlington he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the Tower. After some weeks the House of Commons, arrogating to itself despotic power in a matter concerning the privileges of the peers, ordered that all the earl's goods should be seized and sold, and the proceeds employed for the use and service of the forces under command of Lord Fairfax. Fines, too, of considerable amount were imposed on him as the condition of his release, which was secured on his mortgaging his estates to the Speaker of the House of Commons and others for £2060, probably the amount of the fines with interest at 8 per cent. The order of the Commons for seizing the goods was afterwards regarded as an infringement of the privileges of the peers, and was ultimately revoked. The earl, however, did not escape the penalty of his delinquency under the ordinance for sequestration. His estates, including Ewelme Park and the mansion he had built there, were sequestered. In 1649 the earl appealed to the committee for compounding, on the ground that he attended the late king as a sworn servant in ordinary, and that he never bore arms against the parliament. The appeal was allowed on payment of certain sums, but so many claimants appeared having charges on the estate, and among them the Speaker of the House, that it was not till 1653 that the sequestration was discharged.

Ambrose Cottrell was mayor of the borough in 1622, 1632, and 1638, and appears to have been an indefatigable, intelligent, and conscientious member of the corporation. Illegal entries in the ledger and omissions led him to take hostile measures against sixteen gentlemen who had held the office of mayor in previous years, together with the bailiffs and bridgemen, for neglect of duty. Formal summonses were issued against the defaulters, and in many cases proper accounts were brought in and recorded, but whether any other result attended the action of the mayor does not appear.

When the struggle commenced between Charles I. and his parliament, the defence of the town and castle was committed to Colonel Blagge, an officer of great military skill, to whom in 1643 a royal warrant was addressed, ordering

him to levy, out of the counties of Berks and Oxon, men and money for the speedy repair and fortification of the fortress. Under warrants dated 1644 from the king and Prince Rupert, directed to Colonel Blagge and Lieutenant-Colonel Lower, the Lieutenant-governor of Wallingford, the sum of £50 a week was the assessment on Reading and the neighbouring hundreds for the garrison at Wallingford. The mayor, Mr. Thomas Thackham, pleaded the inability of that town, through great sickness and utter decay of trade, to pay any further taxes, and unavailing efforts were made by petition to the king and otherwise to be discharged from the contribution. Ultimately the succeeding Mayor of Reading, William Brackston, was seized by a party of horse and carried away to Wallingford, with an intimation that he would be detained a prisoner till the contribution was paid, to be doubled if any underhand payments were made to the rebels. The rebels, however, were soon afterwards in occupation of the town, and although the claim was considerably reduced on an order that Reading was to pay only a proportionate rate of the £1000 levied weekly on the county, and an offer made to accept £100 in discharge, no payment appears to have been made.

When the king heard of the threatened attack on Reading by the Earl of Essex, he made preparations for its relief, and established his head-quarters at Wallingford for a short time, Oxford being the chief station. There the king found ready pecuniary help ; great contributions were made by the colleges for the pay and support of his soldiers, and even the college plate was sold and appropriated by or for him. The king arrived at Wallingford in April, 1648, and took up his abode at the castle, dining at the house of Mr. Molyne, and sleeping in the governor's apartments. His army was encamped about two miles from the town, to be in readiness for marching at five o'clock in the morning. At daybreak the king mounted, having his nephews Rupert and Maurice, his household, heralds, and guards of gentlemen pensioners in attendance ; and with him went forth his own troop of horse, consisting of a great number of distinguished persons commanded by Lord Barnard Stuart, brother of the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Blagge, and part of the latter's garrison. Another troop followed under the command of

Sir William Killigrew, with the baggage of the king and his retinue. The army, being forty-five troops of horse and nine regiments of foot, besides dragoons and artillery, marched in two divisions straight upon the town of Reading, the one with General Ruthorn, the other commanded by the king in person. As they approached Caversham the fight began, and soon became general. A repulse at the bridge there was followed by a long and bloody struggle; the cavaliers were worsted, and retired upon Wallingford, and Reading was taken by the parliamentary army, if it had not before yielded to Essex.

In August, 1643, the Earls of Lindsey, Holland, and Bedford came to Wallingford on their way to join the king, who was then at Oxford. They were received with great honour by the governor, who conducted them to the city. The latter's courtesy to those he considered friendly to his royal master, gave place to unbending hauteur towards those he conceived unfriendly to the royal cause. This was shown in a marked degree when the nine commissioners, headed by the Earl of Denbigh, appointed by parliament to wait on the king with proposals for peace, made their way in November, 1644, towards Wallingford, expecting to find him there. On arriving at Crowmarsh, they sent a letter to Colonel Blagge, desiring permission to enter the town by virtue of a pass from his Majesty, which after some hesitation was granted. But on arriving at the governor's quarters they were treated with insolence and incivility; high words ensued, and the commissioners, fearing that the garrison would carry out their threats of violence,* hastened away in their coaches to Oxford, whither the king had returned.

Soon after this visit, the garrison at Abingdon, who held that town in the name of the parliament under Major-General Crawford, being straitened for provisions, suddenly marched with a regiment of horse to Wallingford, and, foraging close to the walls, carried off a thousand sheep unknown to Blagge, who, in order to revenge the loss, pursued and attacked the enemy on their march to Aylesbury; but, singling out Crawford as the principal object of his vengeance, he rode up to him and offered single combat.

* This account somewhat differs from that in the Calendar of State Papers, in which no such violent conduct is mentioned.

After several blows had been exchanged, Blagge was wounded, and obliged to retreat with only fourteen of his men out of a force of 120. On one occasion a small army from Wallingford, which had been sent to forage in the neighbourhood of Abingdon, was entirely defeated by Captain Tomlinson with some horse from the latter town. Better success attended a party from Wallingford and Oxford, who went to relieve Greenland House, which was besieged by the parliamentary forces ; the latter were repulsed, but at a later date the house and fort surrendered.

The vicinity of Abingdon to Wallingford occasioned many such skirmishes between the respective garrisons, in which the parliamentary forces, being superior in numbers, had generally the advantage, notwithstanding the fact that considerable dissatisfaction prevailed among the soldiers in consequence of the arrears of pay due to them. Major-General Brown, in his official report from Abingdon to the "committee of both kingdoms," states, "Our foot for want of pay daily run away, and, being taken by the forces at Wallingford, are tendered an oath not to bear arms for the parliament any more, and are then dismissed." On another occasion the general renewed his application to be recalled, not being able to do the service he desired, and "not desiring to behold so many starving wretches without ability to relieve them."

After the second battle of Newbury (October, 1644), the king made his way towards Bath with five hundred horse ; the remainder of the royal forces, or the greater part, led by Prince Maurice, hastily retreated to Wallingford, which they reached after the night's march by six o'clock the next morning. "In such haste was the retreat made," writes the officer in command, "that our horse overtook none but stragglers."

In 1645, Captain Baxter, Governor of Reading, marched with a strong force to Wallingford, and drew up his men in order of battle in front of the fortifications which surrounded the town ; but, being unprepared for the strong resistance offered, he retired back to Reading, whither he was soon after followed by a troop of horse sent out by Colonel Blagge. They fell in with a small detachment of the enemy, and soon routed them ; but afterwards a sharp action ensued, and the

Wallingford men were in their turn obliged to fly, leaving many prisoners behind, and with the loss of their commander, Captain Barker. Other defeats of the royalists followed ; but the active and determined Governor of Wallingford remained undaunted, and he nearly succeeded in capturing the Governor of Reading.

The exploits of the troopers from Wallingford in the neighbourhood of Newbury were not confined to the legitimate exercise of their military calling in defence of the crown. A large camp of Wiltshire carriers and clothiers from the western districts, on their way to London with a cargo of goods, were met by the troopers from Wallingford, who drove them all, teams, baggage, and carriers, into Donnington Castle, where they were forcibly detained, and only obtained a final discharge by consenting to pay an additional £10 on every sack of cloth, or leaving an equivalent in value. Owing to this act of brigandage, the merchants were deprived of just one-third of their property.

Another source of income, probably more legitimate, arose from levies on the hundreds, which the governors of Wallingford and Donnington Castles made for their garrisons under pretence of a warrant from the king.

On the 17th of November, 1645, Colonel Dalbier was enjoined by the "committee of both kingdoms" to put himself in a watchful posture, intelligence having been received that the king was drawing together his foot, and intended, with all his horse, numbering together about two thousand strong, speedily to go to Wallingford ; and in April following the colonel was recommended to quarter his forces within the town, and block it up if he could on one side, the committee assuring him that, being sensible of his want of money, they would do their best for him with the House of Commons. Afterwards, on the 17th of June, 1646, the committee desired Sir Thomas Fairfax to employ his forces for the "present and close siege" of the fortress, and to prevent the garrison from infesting the country and getting supplies on the Berkshire side. In order to effect a like object on the Oxfordshire side, the governors of Henley and Wickham were ordered to send what forces they could spare to Crowmarsh, to be under the command of Colonel Temple, who was directed to repair there in person, and

take with him such guns as he considered necessary. The chief in command was General Fairfax, who also despatched Colonel Weldon and Captain Gibbons with strong forces to assist in blocking up the town on both sides. Thus the town was surrounded by parliamentary forces, and the passage of the bridge was taken. Blagge, however, continued to keep possession of the fortress, and to repel the daily assaults that were made. Oxford, Faringdon, and other posts in the neighbourhood had surrendered. The king himself had abandoned the cause by getting away from Oxford in the disguise of a footman, and the two princes, Rupert and Maurice, no longer gave their support. Still the Governor of Wallingford was not disposed to yield, and so resolute was he in defending and maintaining his position, that General Fairfax, despairing of getting possession of the town by force of arms, sought the aid of a select council consisting of Cromwell, Ireton, Lambert, and Fleetwood, with Whitelock as secretary. This resulted in certain articles of capitulation being drawn up and forwarded to the governor, who virtually rejected them as insufficient; whereupon the general ordered additional regiments to march on the town and assist in a close blockade. At length sheer necessity for want of supplies induced the governor to treat for a surrender. He sent a haughty letter to the general, requesting a cessation of arms, to which Fairfax agreed for four days to prevent the burning of the town, which was threatened. So many objections were made by the governor to the proposals of the commissioners, that Fairfax referred the matter to the House of Commons, who ordered a renewal of the siege. Again the intrepid governor assumed the defensive. Ultimately, however, fresh articles of capitulation were approved by the Commons, and the requirements of the governor were granted with little modification. The articles, dated the 22nd of July, 1646, are set out in the original history. During the interval between the sealing the articles and the surrender of the town, a mutiny arose among the officers and soldiers, the alleged cause being that Colonel Blagge had sold the corn and provisions in the castle and taken possession of the money without giving a penny of it to the soldiers, though much pay was in arrear to them. They presented their muskets, and, it is said, would

have murdered the governor had he not obtained the aid of General Fairfax, who sent Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson and his regiment into the town to force an orderly surrender. Order having been restored, the garrison, consisting of one thousand foot, besides horse, marched out of the castle more as victors than vanquished, with flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, muskets loaded, and matches lighted,* leaving behind fourteen pieces of ordnance, store of arms, ammunition, and some provisions; such were the liberal terms conceded by the parliament's generals. Thus yielded Wallingford Castle on July 27, 1646, after making war for sixty-five days, with the loss of five slain. The two smaller fortresses of Raglan and Pendennis were now the only castles remaining which were garrisoned by the king. Released from Wallingford, the parliamentary forces repaired to these fortresses, which in the following month of March were both reduced. In September an order was made for payment of £50 to Mr. Pitson, for bringing to the Speaker of the "House of Peers the good news of the taking of Wallingford Castle."

The town and castle were delivered up to General Fairfax, who, as soon as Colonel Blagge had quitted the town, nominated as governor the Honourable Arthur Evelyn, adjutant-general of the cavalry, a nomination which the Commons confirmed. Whitelock, with the general and members of both Houses of Parliament, laboured to get an order for demolishing the fortress; but, having failed, the castle became one of the state prisons, and among those imprisoned here was Judge Jeffries and many of the royalists who had been committed to the Tower of London, together with Major-General Browne, Sheriff of London, and Sir John Clotworthy. The latter was a zealot among the Puritans, and had been a great leader in the Lower House, which in 1648 had become almost destitute of power, and was unable to resist the violent and sanguinary measures of a discontented army. The arrest of Clotworthy and others was made in December of that year by the army leaders, on a charge of having participated in an invitation to the Scots to invade England. No evidence against them could be found, but, notwithstanding this fact, we learn from

* State Papers—Rushworth.

Gardener's "History of the Civil War," that they remained in custody for many years untried and uncondemned. The valiant Colonel Blagge died at an early age in November, 1660, and was buried in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, where a long inscription on his monument records his important services and unshaken fidelity to the crown, particularly whilst governor of Wallingford Castle.

Meetings of disaffected persons were frequent about this time, and the garrisons of Wallingford and Oxford were ordered by the Council of State to break up those meetings, and preserve the peace of the Commonwealth.

Warrants were issued from the council to the governor of the castle for the supply of ordnance to various places, and orders given to the gun-founders to cast new guns out of the twenty-two tons of unserviceable brass ordnance brought from Wallingford, and returns were to be made of arms, ammunition, great guns, and mortars delivered by the store-keeper of Wallingford for the service of Ireland since March 1, 1648-9. A company of Sir William Constable's regiment were to go to Wallingford to relieve Colonel Ingoldsby's company, and a troop of horse commanded by Captain Smith was also to be taken on the establishment, and the army commanders were to give warrants for their pay.

The corporation accounts show that two new silver maces were made for the borough in the year 1615, at a cost of £13 2s. 9d., by one Anthony Bennett, at the "signe of the Sunne in Foster Lane, London," the two old maces having been sold at 5s. an ounce for £10 2s. 6d. There is also an item of payment of 25s. for "two pocket maces of Lattine for the serjeants to arrest withall." In 1650, just after the declaration of the Commonwealth, the above-mentioned new maces, which savoured probably too much of royalty, were sold, and the "greate mace" was made by Thomas Mandye, a goldsmith in Fetter Lane, London. The weight is described to be 98 ozs. and 14 dwts., and the cost £46 18s. 3d., as follows: at 7s. per ounce, £37 0s. 3d., ungilt; gilding, £9; engraving the arms of the town, 5s.; case, with lock and key, 10s.; carriage from London, 3s.

There is no mention in the corporation books of a mace having been made subsequent to the above date, but this

"greate mace" of the time of the Commonwealth can hardly be supposed to be identical with the present mace, which bears on the top of it the crown, the royal arms, and on its four divisions the letters C. R., with badges of nationality. Probably the present mace dates about 1663, when Charles II. granted the new charter of incorporation, some portions of the old mace having been made to serve again. The corporation also possess a beautiful loving cup, which Mr. Cripps, the author of "Old English Plate," informs us was made by a London man of repute, whose mark appears also on plate belonging to the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, some City companies, and elsewhere.

In July, 1769, the mace was regilt at a cost of £15 8s.

Among the disbursements by the mayor, allowed at a meeting in the year 1651, is the following :—

"Laid out for a canopie for the mace to stand in at the common meeting-place for the worship of God in this Burrough, the sum of £00 03s. 00*d*."

This is explained by a subsequent entry, whereby it appears that a weekly lecture was appointed to be preached on market day, from the first Friday in March to the last Friday in October, and that, "the ministers that preached this lecture, by the intreatie of Mr. William Cooke, the mayor, were—

Mr. John Ley, Minister of Brightwell, Berkshire.

Doctor Stanton, Head of Corpus Christi Colledg, in Oxford.

Doctor Langley, Head of Pembroke Colledg, in Oxford.

Mr. Brice, Minister of Henley-on-Thames.

Mr. Cornish, one of the Cannons of Christ Church, Oxford.

Mr. Owen, President of St. John's Colledg, in Oxford.

Doctor Wilkins, Head of Wadham Colledg, in Oxford.

Mr. Connett, Head of Exeter Colledg, in Oxford.

Mr. Wilkinson, President of Mawlin Hall, in Oxford.

Mr. Johnson, a neighbour Minister.

Mr. Barron, Fellow of Mawlin Colledg, in Oxford.

Mr. Ley, Minister of Wantage, in Barkshire.

Mr. Titble, Minister of Abingdon, in Barkshire.

Mr. Flowd, Minister of Readinge, in Barkshire."

The preaching probably led to the closing of several ale-

houses, for, of the thirty-two then existing, Mr. Mayor, having advised with his assistants, thought fit to licence twelve only, namely—

“Richard White, at the Mermaid,	} in the market-place.
Edward Collier, at the Talbot,	
Richard Carter, at the Plume of Feathers,	} in the market-place.
Robert Pearson, at the Black boye,	
Richard Ouldham, at the Cock,	
William Elliott, at the White Hart, near the market-place.	
Thomas Eelye, at the Bell, in the market-place.	
John Button, near the Mill Bridge.	
Richard Brocke, at the Green tree.	
John Culham, at the Wharfe.	
Thomas Tompson, at the Greyhound, in the High Street.	
John Smith, near the market-place, through the request of Major Bigg (who is a very good friend to this town), and John Smith being of good conversation and abilitie, it was thought fit by Mr. Maior, upon the advice of religious people in this Burrough, to forbear the suppressing of the aforesaid John Smith.”	

One innholder—

“Mr. Samuel Peirse, innholder, at the George, in the High Street.”

In the same year, “it was thought fitt, for the preventing of fire in the night season, and evil courses of night walkers, to chuse a man, to walk every night in the year through all the streets and lanes in the night season, to call upon all people that are up to be careful of their fire and candle light.”

We must not impute the suppression of these public-houses to the growth of puritan feeling in the town. Drunkenness had scandalized the age, and the statutes against it had to be revived. We cannot say that the mayor was equally free from puritan bias on a later occasion. Assuming a power which he did not possess, he ordered the weekly market to be held on Good Friday, instead of Maunday Thursday. The proclamation, which was notified by the bellman, warned all persons not to presume to expose any wares for sale in the market-place on the Thursday, upon pain and penalty of forestalling, but to make sale of merchantable commodities in the usual market-day, being Friday, “no fair being

allowed by our charter on the days before Good Friday so called."

The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, contains many references to Wallingford Castle, relating chiefly to the removal of soldiers from and to the garrison, and the transmission and supply of war material. In August, 1651, Captain Bray, a prisoner at Windsor, committed by parliament, "being a person very dangerous to the peace and safety of that garrison," was transferred to Wallingford. A few days afterwards the magazine at the castle was ordered to be furnished with supplies by the adjoining counties, and measures were to be taken for the apprehension and punishment of the "enemy's party." A report was directed by the Council of State to be made as to what was necessary to be done for the safety of the castle, and four hundred barrels of powder were ordered to be sent immediately, and teams furnished to the train artillery.

In 1652, a conspiracy was discovered for delivering the castle into the hands of the late king's friends, and to set the prisoners at liberty, for which one of the soldiers belonging to the garrison was tried by court-martial, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to be hung on the gibbet by his thumbs—a species of torture apparently revived from the twelfth century. On the 18th of the following month of November, the Council of State ordered Wallingford Castle to be demolished, and committed the work to Major Evelyn, Edward Jennings, and John Rusden. They were to sell the huts, magazine house, drawbridges, materials, etc., and houses erected therein by the late king's party, and apply the proceeds, with the money advanced by the army commission, towards the expense of demolishing the castle and fortifications. It is probable that the demolition of the fortress had been in contemplation some months before the date of the order, which may account for the frequent directions given to the governor to send away such large quantities of ordnance, ammunition, and stores. It is stated, in a petition for redress presented by Michael Molyns, that the sale of the materials realized £1500, and that the expense of demolishing was £500; but in a report of the commissioners the amount received is stated to be £516 17s. 11d., of which £450 5s. 8d. were spent in demolishing. The correctness of these figures

appears to have been questioned, and Rusden, one of the commissioners, was ordered to attend the council ; but he disobeyed the order, and the commissioners were "to be speedily called to account."

The report states that Molyns lost £450 by timber taken from him to repair the castle by the king's party, which sum was ordered to be paid him.

Wallingford was part of the jointure of Queen Henrietta Maria, and appears to have been left untouched by the regicides Okey, Waller, and others, who shared among them most of her dower possessions. She survived the king twenty years, and according to the Calendar of State Papers great abuses had crept into the administration of her Majesty's affairs. Referring to her lands in Berkshire, it is stated that the decayed Castle of Wallingford, with certain tenements, meadows, and pastures belonging thereto, and the fishings in the moats, had been leased to Thomas Freeman and others for eight or nine years at the yearly rent of £2, the same being considered to be worth £80 per annum. The matter was referred to the auditor of the county, on behalf of the queen, for inquiry, and a certificate as to the facts.

CHARLES II.

Notwithstanding the violent measures which were resorted to against the Earl of Berkshire, our high steward remained true to the royalists, and was one of the late king's party who signed the declaration which much facilitated the restoration of Charles II. And now the earl began to reap the fruits of his loyalty. He was made a Privy Councillor, a Knight of the Garter, and many other honours were conferred on him.

Soon after the Restoration, many petitions were presented to the king complaining of the damage and desolation done to the town and to individuals during the Civil War. Although few parliamentary grants appear to have been made, the charters which the king granted, and the orders and certificates which are recorded, show that the town received its full share of royal favour.

During the Commonwealth, and in the early part of this

reign, many tradesmen, for convenience and owing to the scarcity of the current coins of small amount, made their own halfpence and farthings in brass or copper. Nearly every trader had a separate device, and often in accordance with the signs which it was the custom of the time to hang over the entrances of their shops. The tradesmen of Wallingford largely availed themselves of this practice, and, although the issue was stopped by royal proclamation in 1674, we find that so recently as the year 1835 Mr. Champion, a well-known name in Wallingford, coined his own halfpence, which bore on the reverse a neatly executed equestrian figure in armour, appropriately representing a champion.

Another circulating medium of earlier date was afforded by tokens cast in lead, of which a considerable number, of various sizes, were found. Some years ago, on removing the floor of the old prison under the town hall, simple devices, such as a star, a shield, or a hand, were generally impressed on one side, and a rudely figured letter on the other, probably the initial of the coiner.

Abbey pieces, with a cross in the centre, have been discovered in the town and neighbourhood in great numbers, and doubtless served the same purpose. They are mostly of a larger size than the tokens, much thinner, and have a somewhat elaborate device, difficult to understand, though apparently symbolizing some religious usage or institution.

The counters known by the name of Nuremberg, from having been struck there, are also frequently found in and near Wallingford. One of those we have represents a person employed in the arithmetical process of counting, for which these counters were used.

In 1664, the corporation resolved that all tolls arising from fairs and markets should be applied for the public benefit of the borough; that the mayor should be allowed yearly thereout £10 for his public entertainment, and the bailiffs 40s. for the like purpose, the mayor's other expenses to be allowed him out of the common stock.

In 1673, the tolls were leased for £150 per annum. In 1681, they sank to £61; but in 1700, on the corporation imposing a toll "on all sorts of corn and grain and other tollable things every day of the week," they reached the sum

of £115 per annum. Afterwards they varied from £92 to £60 in the year 1723, and to £30 in 1749. This gradual decrease continued till the year 1758, when they produced no more than the trifling sum of £5 per annum, after which all toll arising from the sale of grain ceased altogether, the market having become wholly a sample one. Certain tolls, however, taken at the fairs and markets still remain, and average about £10 per annum.

A pestilence occurred in Wallingford about the year 1665, and carried off eighty-three persons between the 13th and 20th of June.

In 1669, the guildhall and market-house were ordered to be removed and rebuilt, and several pages of disbursements by the chamberlain, chiefly for building-materials, follow from the above date to 1676 ; but, as the accounts comprise the general expenditure of the borough, the outlay on the new guildhall cannot be ascertained. A loan was effected in April, 1671, of £45, presumably in connection with the building, fifteen members of the corporation, headed by the mayor, having agreed to lend £3 each without interest. The civic meetings in the year 1670 were held within the parish church of St. Mary.

The plague having visited the neighbouring parishes of Crowmarsh and Newnham in 1671, wardens were "sett on the great bridge to keep out of the town all the village people."

There is a curious old chest, bound with iron and secured by locks of singular construction, in the upper chamber of the guildhall, the age of which is unknown. It appears to have been in existence in 1672, an order having then been given to the town clerk to get "all those locks and all other necessities to the same and the trunks repaired and made fit."

1675, January 16. A petition from the mayor and corporation of this date states that "a sudden and most dreadful fire had consumed most of the houses in the borough."

1681. In this year William Angier and Mary his sister built and endowed the almshouse in Saint Leonard's parish, for the relief of six poor people. The male donor was a burgess of the borough, and was probably the son of John

Angier, who was an ironmonger in the town, and whose farthing tokens are dated 1669. Lately Mr. Francis Samuel Bunting, one of the town council, and an old inhabitant, has liberally added to the endowment £1000 Consols.

The charter granted to the town in the early part of this reign was surrendered and a new one granted, the object apparently being to confer larger powers on the king and his partisans.

JAMES II.

At the close of 1688, William Prince of Orange, who had married the daughter of James II., was at Wallingford with the great Duke of Schomberg and the army, on his way to London to claim the crown. A day or two before, his troops had to sustain a sharp attack at Hungerford, and according to Macaulay there was a want of agreement between the prince and some of his adherents on a matter of importance; at any rate, the prince arrived at Wallingford with an unsettled and uneasy feeling, and the question of re-establishing the fortress was gravely discussed. The duke, who was considered to be the first soldier in Europe, after a careful survey, reported to his Highness that he knew no place in the world better situated than Wallingford for a defence, and that in twenty-four hours he could make it so strong as to hold out against a good force for some time, and that in three weeks he could render it almost impregnable. The aspect of affairs, however, had become more reassuring, and it is not unlikely that the intelligence of the king's flight from London on the 9th or 10th of December may have reached the prince in this town, and influenced him in abandoning the contemplated measures of precaution. The prince, with the duke and others, dined at the Lamb, formerly known as the Bell, of which Sylvanus Wiggins, who had been a great traveller, was the landlord. In the morning the prince pursued his triumphant march to London, and the crown of England, having fallen from the head of the late king, was settled on his son-in-law and his daughter, the Princess of Orange. The constable's bill on the occasion amounted to £17 6s., which was paid out of the corporation stock.

Hearne, who visited Wallingford in 1713 (Queen Anne), remarks that there were then no remains of the castle, except a small part in the bottom styled the dungeon, being used as a jail sometimes. But he adds, "The kepe is still in being, and is very high, and is encompassed with a large ditch."

WILLIAM AND MARY.

A sum of £70 was subscribed in 1689 by some of the inhabitants for supplying the town with a fire-engine, and erecting a pump for common use in the market-place. In 1835, a more ornamental pump was substituted, which has now given place to an elegantly designed drinking-fountain in iron, which was presented to the town by Mr. Alderman Hawkins. In St. Leonard's Square, a fountain of somewhat similar design, surmounted by a florid public lamp, was erected by the late Mr. Alderman Champion for the use of the town. Both fountains are supplied from the town water-works, which were erected in 1884.

The assizes were held here in 1696 and 1698, and also in the previous reign. In the former year a sum of £36 19s. 8d. was expended in repairs to the market houses, and other necessary charges for the judge and his retinue, besides 4s. 10d. for brewing his beer and grinding the malt. In the latter year the expenses amounted to £27 15s. 5d., of which £9 11s. 10d. were collected by the innkeepers. For brewing the judge's beer and grinding the malt, the charge on this occasion was 3s. 4d., and 6s. 11d. were paid "for candlesticks at the assizes."

The quarter sessions for the county, called the flying sessions, were occasionally held in the town, and in 1699 the justices attending were "entertained and treated by Mr. Mayor, at the charge of the corporation." Equally liberal the corporate body appears to have been, although in a less legitimate way, in granting leases of their property. Contemporaneously with the improved receipts from tolls, they renewed in 1700 a lease of certain houses and premises to Mr. Richard Lane for a term of fifty-one years, at apparently the inadequate fine of £5, one leathern bucket, and a treat. A gift of buckets for use in case of fire and a treat

to the corporation were the almost invariable conditions on which leases and renewals of corporate property were granted in this and subsequent reigns. In 1720, the corporation possessed fifty-four buckets, two being wanting.

QUEEN ANNE.

At a court of common council held in 1703, a deed under the common seal passed to John French one gelding and one bridle, being the goods of Samuel Tull, "lately condemned in the court of record ;" and in 1705, an attachment issued against the mayor, town clerk, and one of the serjeants-at-mace, in reference to a lighting boat of James Jeffs, which had been legally condemned at the borough court. This system of condemnation was an ancient custom in the borough, and several instances are recorded where it was observed.

Addresses and petitions to the throne in the sixteenth century and subsequently seem to have been invariably presented in person by the mayor and others of his colleagues, "at the corporation expense."

The council ordered, in 1707, an abatement to be made of £3 1s. 7d. to Nicholas Langford, the late tollman, out of his rent for the tolls of the markets and fairs, "in regard of the corporation being very much visited and afflicted with small-pox."

Three attempts were made in this reign to secure the erection of a lock in the river, and corn-mills adjoining on the north of the town, and for that purpose the "lock water and weare beds" were let in 1709 to Jeremiah Lane, on a lease for ninety-nine years, at the rent of 10s. per annum, a treat to the corporation, and a leathern bucket. Default was made in erecting the mills, and the lease vacated. A similar grant was then made to Isaac Alibone, with a like result. The lessee was released from his agreement "upon his treating the corporation, providing six good buckets, and paying all necessary expenses."

The Rev. Samuel Shenton is mentioned in the corporation minutes as "minister of the same borough" (Wallingford). It would, therefore, appear that the several parishes had

been united pursuant to the petition of the corporation in the last reign.

The assizes were again held in the borough in 1711 and 1713; the expenses, amounting to £20 2s. 6d., in the latter year were defrayed by the corporation. The mayor was requested to thank the recorder by letter "for his kind offer to help the borough to the next assizes." This was an honour much coveted, and entries appear in the books to ensure a suitable reception of the judges.

GEORGE I.

The Michaelmas sessions for the county were held here in 1745, Lord Barrington being the chairman.

On three occasions previous to 1757 the corporate funds were insufficient to pay the mayor's increased salary of £20, and a bond carrying interest was given for the amount. The financial condition of the body does not appear to have improved in 1761, when nine persons named gave a promissory note to pay 20s. each per annum for five years to meet the interest due on a bonded debt of £360, and a commission was appointed with a view to limit the general expenditure. In the next year orders were made by the council for increasing the rents, limiting to forty years the terms for which leases were to be granted, and for prohibiting the insertion of covenants for renewal. In 1763 these provisions were repealed, "it being found by experience that the corporation estates are sufficient to pay the debts that they now owe."

WALLINGFORD CASTLE.

NOTHING remarkable occurs in history respecting the town during the reigns of the House of Brunswick ; but we have yet to add some further particulars under the following heads : The Castle, the Representation of the Town, the Corporation, the Bridge, Public Buildings, Churches, Charities, etc.

THE CASTLE.

Enough has been said in previous chapters to warrant the belief that there existed here in the time of the Romans a fortified encampment, which may have partaken of the crenelated form of defence of that day. Here it was that the famous Saxon thane, Wigod, received in great state the Conqueror, who ordered a "new castle" to be built, which, with the additions subsequently made, became one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. Like most other castles, that of Wallingford was first a fortress, then a royal residence, and in after-times a state prison, which ultimately degenerated into a place of confinement for criminals of the ordinary class. As a fortress it nobly served its purpose, and maintained its impregnability at siege after siege for six centuries. As a royal resort and state prison, the castle has been identified with some of the most stirring and remarkable events in our national history, as mentioned in chronological order in previous pages.

Little information can be given regarding the structure itself, but from the inquisition, *temp.* Phillip and Mary, the contour of the ground, and other sources, we collect the following details : The castle was built within the ancient walls in the north-east quarter of the town, on a piece of ground containing between twenty and thirty acres, and may be said to have overhung the river Thames. It appears to have been of an oblong form, with three bastions on the north side and two on the south, the keep intervening

between the latter. On the east was the glacis, abruptly sloping towards the river, on the crest of which is the ivy-clad ruin called the Queen's Tower, being now nearly all that remains of this once formidable stronghold. Traces of all the moats, of which there were three, the bastions, ramparts, and glacis, are strongly marked, and are given with great minuteness in the large ordnance map of 1877. The Moreton stream, flowing in a considerable volume over the higher ground on the west of the town, supplied the dykes with water.

The castle, says Leland, "joineth to the north gate of the town, and hath three dykes, large and deepe and well watered. About each of the two first dykes runneth an embattled wall now sore in ruin and for the most part defaced. All the goodly building with the towers and dungeon be within the third dyke. The town of Wallingford," he adds, "hath been a very notable thing and well walled. The ditch of the town and the crest whereon the walls stood be yet manifestly perceived, and begin from the castle, going in compass a good mile and more, and so cometh to Wallingford Bridge, a large thing of stone over the Tamise."

Camden states that the castle was "very large, environed with a double range of walls and double ramparts and ditch, and in the midst of it there standeth a tower or keepe, raised upon a mighty high mound, in the steep ascent whereof by steps we saw a well of exceeding depth;" and he remarks that "when he and his companions used to visit the buildings without the inner moat over against the hill, which were retiring-places for the students of Christ Church, they could not but wonder at the magnificence of the castle."

Mr. Clarke, in his work on castles, refers to that of Wallingford as having had a shell keep erected on very ancient earthworks on the line of the enceinte wall, guarding the valley of the Thames and ford, and being of first-class importance.

Gough, who visited the castle in 1768, refers to part of the east pier of the principal gate on the south-east corner of the inner bank, as then existing.

Three sides of the keep were surrounded by water, and the

entrance must have been from the north or inner ward, and the summit reached by winding stairs. The approach to these stairs was secured by the "great door with bars of iron" mentioned in the inquisition, and we may conclude there was also the usual protection of a machicolated or pierced gate, through which scalding water or boiling lead might be poured on the assailants. Sixty joists, eight feet long and nine inches square, appear to have been used in covering these stairs, and another "great door with great iron bars" barricaded the upper end of the same stairs. Adjoining this door was a porch about eight feet square, which, it seems, was the landing-place for the lower story, and led to the kitchen and the two rooms adjoining, with a chamber over, the two rooms being about ten feet square, and, with the kitchen and chamber, had seven iron-barred windows. There were also two dungeons or prisons within the keep. The more important rooms were the "great chamber and the privy chamber," with "four very great iron-barred windows," having a flat roof of timber over the same. The citadel was a building of stone, "with long and winding stairs," having two wards and two gate-houses, and a tower on the top. As the mount is now about sixty feet high, we may imagine what a commanding position this tower must have occupied as a look-out for the enemy.

The subterranean passage from the keep on the south, and the sally-port, or whatever it was, on the opposite side, have been already mentioned. We have made considerable excavations at the top of the keep, in the hope of lighting on the foundations of some of these extensive buildings, but not the least trace of any masonry has been discovered; probably the buildings were more northward. The huge mount, stript of all its former appendages, the few mouldering ruins, and the undulations and entrenchments, are all that remain to give an idea of the strength and extent of this impregnable fortress. At no other stronghold could Cromwell's soldiers have done their work more thoroughly; its lofty towers, its buttresses and formidable walls, are gone, and its importance is no more; but its fame is indelibly marked on the page of history.

In 1817, the Honour and manors of Wallingford and Ewelme were offered for sale by auction by the commis-

sioners of his Majesty's woods and forests and land revenues. They are described as comprising sundry quit-rents and certainty money arising from various estates held of the said honour, with the privileges of holding courts leet at the following places, namely, Chinnor, Ogborn St. George, Cherrington, Little Ressington, Hinton, Ardington, Chalgrove, Ipsden, Lewknor, Stokenchurch, Sutton Scotney (Courtney?), Purley, Great Haseley, and Throp; and the five following, separate and immediate manors, viz. Ewelme, Horsepath near Oxford, Cleanfield near Faringdon, Donningdon near Newbury, and Bruern near Burford; other possessions belonging to the manors were afterwards alienated.

In the same year, the commissioners also sold by auction the site of the castle, with its gardens and moats and pasture-land, and the king's meadow, containing together about sixty-two acres, several houses in Wallingford, the fishery in the river Thames, and freehold estates at Ewelme and Nuffield, in the county of Oxford, comprising the manor-house, fish-ponds, and lands in Ewelme Street.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TOWN.

We have before observed that Wallingford sent members to parliament as early as the 21st or 23rd years of the reign of Edward I. The first instance we find recorded of boroughs having been summoned occurred in the previous reign, 48 Henry III., but whether this borough enjoyed the privilege before the time mentioned (1293) is doubtful. At the time parliaments were first instituted, the representatives of boroughs were almost always chosen from their own body for the protection of the common rights of all the other freemen. Thus in the reign of Edward I. Nicholas de la Barre, who was mayor, was the representative of the borough in six succeeding parliaments. John Maryat, who was mayor for seven years, was the representative in the reigns of Edward I., II., and III. William Cotterell, John Cotterell, and John Derby, "our fellow-burgesses," were elected by their brethren in 2 Henry IV. and 5 Henry V. Robert Cockson appears in the roll of 1 & 2 Philip and Mary; and so late as the year 1603 (James I.), Griffith Payne, who

was mayor in that and the preceding year, was also member for the borough at that time. They were paid for their attendance in parliament at the rate of 2s. a day out of the common fund. The above custom generally prevailed down to about the reign of Charles I., and was legalized by statute of Henry V., which directed the towns to choose only members of their own community. In King Charles's reign, although not in accordance with the above statute or previous usage, the representation was laid open to persons not actually residents in the borough, though connected with it. Authorized by the king's writ to choose two representatives, it was left for the corporate body to determine on whom they would bestow the franchise. Hence we find that the Wallingford corporation conferred the privilege of electing one of the parliamentary representatives on the high steward of the borough, while the other representative was the recorder, who claimed by virtue of his office. These narrow privileges were not long enjoyed, for about the time when the old custom of restricting the trading in the town to freemen was abolished, and strangers were allowed to exercise their trades within its limits, the number of inhabitants was thereby increased, and the privilege of electing the representatives was extended by the corporation to all the inhabitants who paid to the Church and poor, and, in 1695 and 1701, to those paying "scot and lot."

Towards the close of this reign, so fertile in changes, the ancient custom of paying for parliamentary services was discontinued in this and other boroughs. The system became alike distasteful both to the representative, who regarded the practice as degrading, and to those on whom the burden of payment fell, and thus by the willing co-operation of both parties, the practice of paying wages for parliamentary services came to an end. In 1530, an acquittance of parliamentary expenses was given by Sir Edward Chamberleyn to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, on their electing him a burgess in parliament, the expressed consideration being their "love and kyndenesse" towards him.

We can form no correct estimate of the extent of the constituency in former times. The abrogation of trade restrictions increased the population, and consequently the number of voters; but at no time for many years previous

to the passing of the Act for the Amendment of the Representation of the People, was the number sufficiently large to exempt the borough from the imputation of being subject to corrupt influences. Wallingford must be stigmatized as having been a borough in which systematic bribery and corruption prevailed for a long series of years. Notwithstanding the opposition offered to the system, many of the poor electors were tempted by the seductive influence of gold, to barter away their votes ; and, being numerically in the ascendant, constitutional representation was out of the question. The representation was that of the pockets of the wealthy candidates, who paid so much a head to their " free and independent constituents " for the honour of representing them in parliament. Speaking of the period before the Reform Act, within our recollection, this gross system of venality was encouraged and practised by the professed advocates of purity of election, and an easy victory was obtained by buying and selling, as marketable commodities, the suffrages of some hundred and fifty electors. Strenuous efforts were made from time to time, by a large section of the constituency, to eradicate a system alike debasing and disgraceful to all concerned ; but the practice, so deeply rooted, was openly defended as a valuable boon, conferring great local advantages, while the poor voters looked upon the wages thus paid for political prostitution as their birth-right.

The important personage by whose instrumentality the elections were secured, was a shoemaker of the town, named Gill, who was known under the sobriquet of "The Miller." No actual promise of reward was made before the election ; a nod, or a wink, or an expressive smile, and now and then the assurance that "all is right," was alone sufficient to secure allegiance. The *modus operandi* whereby the faithful were rewarded may be thus described : The election over, "The Miller," enveloped in a leathern apron up to his chin, and bending under the weight of numerous bags of gold coin, took his nocturnal rounds. Pursuant to previous arrangement, the outer door of the house of the "immaculate" voter was in most instances left open, and here, at the threshold, without question asked or answer given, a packet of twenty sovereigns was deposited ; and thus a sum of

somewhere about £3000 was expended, at each recurring election, in the purchase of a seat in parliament upon "independent principles," the independent member being freed from any obligation to trouble himself about the constituency till the time arrived for another supply of the precious metal.

But time rolled on, and another candidate appeared to share the profit of "The Miller's" occupation. Charges were alleged that certain bags of gold had been misappropriated. Matters were irreconcilable between the two rivals. Charge and counter-charge quickly followed each other, till at length "The Miller" deliberately made on oath a full disclosure of all his secret doings. The affidavit, dated in October, 1832, disclosed, as a fact, that two hundred and seventy-five bags of gold, of £20 each, were sent to Wallingford for distribution, by one of the then members, but that only two hundred and sixty-four bags were applied to the purpose for which they were intended, whereby eleven voters had been cut off, whose names "The Miller" swore he gave to the member, on his request to be furnished with them.

The evidence adduced was generally accepted as an ample and satisfactory exoneration of "The Miller" from the imputations of dishonesty that had been levelled against him.

These revelations acted, as may be supposed, as a powerful auxiliary to the efforts of the independent electors to stem the torrent of corruption, and a considerable advance was made thereby towards annihilating this infamous traffic in votes, which the Reform Act, by extending the constituency to the neighbouring district, and depriving the borough of one of its members, well-nigh completed; but now, under a subsequent Act, its separate representation is lost, and Wallingford is merged in the county.

THE CORPORATION.

WALLINGFORD was created a royal borough by Edward the Confessor, but the inhabitants appear to have exercised the rights and privileges of a community prior to that reign. These privileges, and all the laws and customs which they enjoyed in the reigns of the Confessor, of William I., and Henry I., were confirmed and perpetuated and further privileges granted by the great charter of Henry II. The royal grant of the mayoralty, confirmed by the grand council previously referred to, appears to have been by an instrument dated in 1155, being about one year before the date of this charter. The duties of mayor at first were probably somewhat contracted, but there can be no doubt that they gradually expanded in the judicial, as well as civil, government of the inhabitants long before the reign of Edward VI., when the development of municipal institutions took place. Abundant proof exists that in the earlier reign of Henry VII., this officer exercised a general and almost absolute power.

Wallingford is certainly one of the oldest municipalities in the kingdom—perhaps the oldest, with the doubtful exception of Winchester—and may well be proud of its existence with a mayor at its head for a period of over seven hundred years. It is not disputed that the first mayor of London was elected in 1189, when the choice fell upon Henry Fitzalwin, a descendant of Allwin, a cousin of King Edgar. The date of the election of the first mayor of Winchester is not so clear. The year 1184 is given in Milner's history, but the reference to the city in the Wallingford charter of Henry II. would lead to the inference that municipal privileges had been previously granted. The charter of Henry II. was confirmed and enlarged by Henry III. and by several succeeding monarchs, the fees arising from such grants and concessions forming no in-

considerable portion of the revenues of the crown before the system of taxation was adopted.

A long interval elapsed prior to the reign of Henry VII., during which the information obtainable relating to the corporation is scanty. In the statute-book of the corporation commencing in this reign, various entries appear of the admission of persons as burgesses, and to the privileges of the town, on being sworn before the mayor, and giving "to the box" small sums of money, afterwards increased. The clergy fared badly in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1543, the corporation enacted that "priests that be parsons shall not be taken nor reputed as burgesses within the borough; that they shall not enter an action for a penny, nor be suffered to sit upon the bench with the mayor and aldermen any more after the date hereof."

The Manor of Wallingford was granted by King James I. to the corporation.

Among the adherents of King Charles I. was William Loader, who was one of the leading inhabitants of the town. On account of his loyalty he was dismissed from the corporation in 1648, by a mandate issued by the Long Parliament, with others of his colleagues. He was put out of the mayoralty, and Henry Kersell, gent., was chosen in his stead, and the Honourable Arthur Evelyn, governor of the castle, was elected a burgess. This action was taken pursuant to a declaration passed by both Houses in the preceding year, that no person who had aided the forces of the king should be eligible to hold any corporate office.

About the same year it was ordered that "the aldermen shall at all times attend the mayor to the church and to the court in the guildhall in their gowns, and the chamberlain and burgesses in their cloaks, under a penalty of 6s. 8d. on each alderman making default, and 3s. 4d. on each burgess." The frequent repetition of these ordinances by the council leads to the belief either that this distinguishing mark of civic dignity was not duly appreciated, or, which is more likely, the neglect to attend the mayor with the insignia of office arose out of political considerations. The first ordinance that passed for compelling attendance was in 1610, but it was not till the civil war between Charles and his parliament broke out and raged in this town and neighbour-

hood that these ordinances assumed an imperative tone. No ready acquiescence was accorded either at this or at a later period, and increasing penalties were imposed, up to 30s. in 1701. In 1719, one of the eighteen assistants was ordered to be prosecuted by distress and sale of his goods, for "obstinately refusing to wear a gown in defiance of the bye-laws." By a previous order, the gown was to be a proper one, lined with velvet or plush.

Within a year after the king's execution, the Protector granted a new charter for the better government of the borough, and to keep sessions therein. This charter was no longer in force than during the Interregnum. On the restoration of Charles II., a warrant was issued for confirming the former charter, which in 1666 was formally renewed with additional privileges. Previously to this date, an angry dispute had arisen between the two sections of political parties in the corporation, and the loyalists in November, 1660, petitioned the king for an order to restore those persons then surviving who in 1648 were ejected from the corporation by ordinance of the pretended parliament for loyalty, and for removing all burgesses elected since that date. The king thereupon commissioned the deputy lieutenants of Berkshire to endeavour to procure the amicable restoration of such officers as were displaced. Instead of doing this, they removed the mayor, which provoked the displeasure of the king, who by royal mandate ordered his immediate restoration. Further action on the part of the deputy lieutenants was rendered unnecessary by the Act of Parliament 13 Charles II. (dating from the execution of Charles I. in 1649), for removing all office-bearers and common councilmen who would not swear allegiance to the throne. Under this Act a commission was issued, and at a sessions held at Wallingford, before the Right Honourable Lord Lovelace and six others, the mayor, Thomas Norton, five aldermen, and nine burgesses were removed from the corporation as "persons unfit to be trusted with any place or office concerning the government of the town;" and the commissioners reinstated in their offices William Loader, mayor in the place of Norton, and the other aldermen and burgesses who had been ejected under the Commonwealth.

The charter of 15 Charles II. (1663) declares that the town shall be a free borough, and the burgesses and inhabitants a body politic by the name of the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, by which name they are to have perpetual succession and a common seal, and be capable of possessing, granting, and conveying lands and tenements. Various provisions are made respecting the court of record, borough mote court, and leets, law days and views of frankpledge, and for the establishment of two markets and four fairs every year, and of a guild or fraternity; and powers are given to make assize of bread, beer, and wine, and of weights and measures, and to punish the breakers of such assize by drawing them on hurdles or otherwise. This charter does not appear to have restored the peace of the town. Differences between the two parties lingered on, and in 1669 the majority of the corporation, by way, it would seem, of protest, and in assertion of their assumed rights, re-elected Thomas Norton as an alderman, and in 1671 as mayor.

A.D. 1683. Wallingford did not escape the general attack which the king made upon the charters of cities and boroughs. The charter he had granted soon after his restoration was surrendered under a *quo warranto*, and a new one was bestowed, which, with little exception, was a transcript of the old one, except in conferring additional powers on the crown. It is probable the corporation, in surrendering their charter, scarcely twenty years old, were too timid to resist, and followed the practice of many other corporate bodies, who, terrified by the arbitrary measures adopted, had surrendered their ancient charters and taken out new ones, for which considerable sums were exacted. The expense of obtaining this new charter and consequent on the suit amounted to £119 3s. 9d. In this project of increasing the influence of the king and his partisans, the unprincipled lawyer Jeffreys, afterwards high steward of the borough, took a leading part.

1684; 36 Charles II. Pursuant to the new charter, the officers of the borough for the first year were appointed by David Bigge, Sheriff of Berks, who also appears to have been mayor of Wallingford in that and the preceding years.

In the next year the king exercised the power reserved

to him, and removed from office several members of the corporation for alleged misbehaviour. The same arbitrary exercise of power was followed soon after the king's death by his successor, James II., who dismissed no less than ten members of the corporation for no apparent fault, and appointed others in their stead. This summary dismissal without cause shown, and the appointment to the vacant offices, appear to have been an unjust assumption of prerogative on the part of the king.

It was about this time that a determined spirit of hostility against the sovereign set in, and openly manifested itself in the invitation to the Prince of Orange to rescue the kingdom from the king's oppression; and then it was that the king signified his intention to redress the abuses which had been lately introduced into the management of corporations through the authority of the crown, and he published a proclamation for restoring to all the boroughs their ancient charters and rights; but the king was too late to retrace his steps. The Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay, and at the close of 1688 was at Wallingford, on his way to London, where he secured the crown.

The mayors were formerly allowed an annual sum of £6 13s. 4d., which was subsequently increased to £10, and afterwards to £15. In 1688 this allowance was discontinued for six years. In 1716 the salary was increased to £25, and that of the recorder to £5; but in 1723 the order for allowing additional sums to these officers, as well as to the bridgemen and bailiffs, was revoked. In 1765 the mayor's salary was fixed at £20, but for many years past no allowance has been made.

A printed particular of the estates belonging to the corporation, dated 1868, gives the total annual rental as £534 14s. 11d. Much of the house property, including that belonging to the bridge, a large proportion of which was in a bad, if not dilapidated, condition, was sold by public auction some few years ago, with the consent of the Lords of the Treasury, and the proceeds of the sale were invested in Government annuities.

The enclosures of pasture ground called the Kinecroft and the old moor were formerly held subject to certain common rights. The mayor for the time being had

common for three kine, every burgess for one cow, and other commons were attached to certain houses within the borough. These latter rights were, by mutual arrangement, some years ago commuted, the corporation agreeing to pay to the parties entitled 5s. for each common in lieu of turning in. The right of commoning enjoyed by the mayor and burgesses by virtue of their offices, has long since fallen into disuse.

The Kinecroft is appropriated as a recreation-ground for the inhabitants, and an annual sum is received for the right of depasturing cows at 28s. each during the grazing season.

The bounds or limits of the borough were perambulated in the years 1707, 1771, and 1806, and the boundaries are fully described in the books of the corporation under those dates.

The list of mayors up to 1880 is given in the larger history. The appointments subsequent to that date were—

1881. Henry Hawkins.

1882. Richard Deacon.

1883. Richard Wilder.

1884. The same.

1885. Sidney Payne.

1886. William Reginald Lybbe Powys Lybbe.

1887. The same.

1888. The same; died September 4, 1888, and Thomas Frederick Wells was elected his successor.

1889. The same.

1890. Henry Hawkins.

1891. James Morty.

1892. The same.

To the list of high stewards must be added the name of Edward Wells, elected in 1889, and to the list of town clerks that of Francis Edward Hedges, elected in 1884.

THE GUILD.

Prior to 1507, little is known beyond the fact that there existed in the town from the time of the Confessor a guild or fraternity having large privileges, with laws and customs under which the trade monopoly was maintained, and the protection of the inhabitants to a great extent secured.

Under it strangers were excluded from residing and carrying on any trade or manufacture within the borough till they had purchased their freedom and been admitted, after which they were entitled to all the rights of the guild, which were very extensive, and descended to the children of all the resident freemen. It would seem that the constitution of the old guild was altered under the charter which Henry II. granted to the town, and that it then ceased to exercise its functions as a distinct community, it being, in fact, merged, if not entirely, to a great extent in the more general institution with the mayor at its head. There is a long gap between Henry II. and Henry VII., during which scarcely any reference to the guild has been found, but when we reach the latter reign, the entries in the corporation ledger show beyond doubt that the two institutions had merged into one. Subsequently, however, the guild, with restricted powers, was revived.

The resolutions adopted restrictive of free trade in the borough are numerous, as being "contrary to the orders, liberties, and laudable customs of the town, and contrary to the directions of the high steward." At a court of common council held in 1663, it was ordained that all trades, arts, or manual occupations within the borough shall consist of one body or company, to be called the Company of Drapers. And in subsequent entries the ancient customs and franchises of the borough for regulating the various trades are recognized. There was probably a want of legal effect in the above ordinance, for in about a year afterwards, 15 Charles II., letters patent were granted to the borough, whereby it was empowered to establish a society, guild, or fraternity of one master and two wardens of any art, mystery, or occupation. This charter, which settled the form of government and legalized certain customs which were perhaps not well defined before, was put in force in 1667 by the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty, at the request of divers tradesmen for the advancement of trade within the borough. No bye-law in the statute-book regulates the amount of fine to be paid for admission to the freedom. The corporation appears to have exercised at all times an arbitrary power of assessment, and the fines they imposed for admission and for trading without a licence varied from

40s. to £15, which, judging from the number of entries, must have been a profitable source of income. In 1699, a leathern bucket and a treat to the corporation were added to the fine, as the consideration for admission to the freedom. Ultimately the guild, if not dissolved, was shorn of its corporate character, and the ordinance under which it was formed was made void, on the ground that "it was found by experience to be not only prejudicial but destructive to the common weal and good government of us, the said mayor, burgesses, and commonalty." There was, however, a reservation, whereby the income from fines on being made free was maintained, and a summary mode of enforcing payment was adopted. As an instance, it was ordered by the council that "the sergeants-at-mace on Friday morning next do shut down the shop-windows of James Biggs for exercising his trade of a goldsmith within the borough, he refusing to submit to the payment of a fine." In 1708, fines of two guineas and one guinea were deemed sufficient, without a treat, for enabling Thomas Heath and Joseph Corderoy to carry on their trade of "barber-surgeon." A more liberal spirit appears to have actuated the corporation in the year 1717, when at a council meeting sixteen tradesmen were sworn freemen, "being entitled thereto by service and by patrimony." The last entry in the corporation books of an admission to freedom is in 1742, when Charles Golding, an apothecary, was admitted, and he paid a fine of four guineas and hall fees, and gave a treat and two buckets.

Among those on whom the freedom of the borough was conferred as an honorary distinction and to qualify them for taking office were—

Lord Viscount Falkland, Sir Henry Fane, K.B., Edmund Dunch, Thomas Renda of Wallingford Castle, Simon Harcourt, and Lord Parker.

THE COMMON SEAL.

The impression on the corporation seal represents a knight on horseback, in complete armour, with an escutcheon on his breast; he has a helmet on his head surmounted by a lion, and a drawn sword in his hand; the horse apparently

fording a river. The general opinion of the inhabitants appears to have been that the person here represented was intended for King Stephen ; but the greater probability is that the figure is that of Henry II., whose cause the town supported in opposition to that of Stephen, and who granted to them their first charter of liberties, under which a common seal would be a necessary adjunct, as evidencing their corporate character. The figure of the monarch passing a river is suggestive of the convention which was concluded at Wallingford on the river-bank. Round the seal is inscribed the following words, in Old English characters : "Sigillum commune de Wallingford." There is also a smaller seal, which was presented in 1733 to the corporation by Robert Hucks, Esq. (whose family had been long connected with Wallingford), for the private use of the mayor and town clerk. It bears the town arms, namely, a portcullis in the centre of a circle. Round the edge is the following inscription in Old English characters : "Sigillum Burgi Wallingford."

WALLINGFORD BRIDGE.

Tradition fixes the date of the erection of this ancient bridge about six hundred years after Christ ; but as the first bridge of stone was, according to Fosbroke, not built in England till A.D. 1118 (at Bow, near Stratford), and according to Hume, somewhat later, it follows that either the original structure must have been of wood, or the date given in the time of the Britons and Anglo-Saxons is not reliable. That there was a bridge here in the time of King Stephen is shown by what has been previously stated, and we must conclude it was chiefly constructed of wood, as was the case with old London Bridge, and was supplanted by a structure of stone and flint. Richard King of the Romans, who expended such vast sums in improving the castle and town, may have given to the original structure a much more substantial character than it previously possessed, but it is clear he was not the founder.

It is a singular coincidence that the length of old London Bridge and that of Wallingford very nearly corresponded, the one being 900 feet and the other 915, while the number

of arches was the same, both bridges having nineteen. In width and outward appearance, however, the two structures differed very much, Wallingford Bridge being not more than one-third as wide as London, or twelve feet within the side walls, thus only allowing room for a single carriage to pass at a time, which, perhaps, was all that was required at the period of its erection, when merchandise, and even the produce of the fields, were mostly carried on pack-horses. In addition to this width, there was a large pointed triangular corner or nook formed by the cutwater, on the upper side between every arch; these triangular projections not only added to the security of the bridge, by diminishing the pressure of the current against the piers, but served as a refuge for passengers. The arches of the bridge were of different dimensions, varying from twelve to eighteen feet in diameter. The widest was called the navigation arch, it being the only one the barges could pass through; but even this was so low, as well as narrow, that the passage through it could not be effected without difficulty, and it has been observed that more barges were sunk at this place than in any other part of the river.

It has been suggested that the similarity spoken of between London and Wallingford bridges could hardly have been accidental, and that the same architect must have designed both bridges. If this be the correct deduction, the date of erection of Wallingford Bridge would be in the time of King John, not later than the year 1207, when the architect of London Bridge, Peter Chaplain, of Colechurch, in the Poultry, appears to have died. He is stated to have been well skilled in the craft of church-building. Both bridges partook of a religious character, and each had its chapel and chaplains. At the period in question, the building of bridges was regarded as a religious duty; penances were remitted and indulgences granted for those engaged in the work, and the souls of the founders were prayed for by the resident chaplains, who had also to collect alms from all who passed over, to keep the structure in repair.

It is doubtful when the proprietorship of the bridge first became vested in the corporation. They had the absolute control over its management and funds in 1507, and ap-

pointed six proctors to superintend the repairs and receive "soche gyftys as hyn givyn to the forseyde bryge." But in 1377, just before the death of Edward III., the stewards and custodians of the fabric were certain trustees unconnected with the corporate body. Subscriptions of considerable amount were paid to these proctors, who purchased the materials of "half the priory church," and used them in the repairs. Square stones with Norman ornamentation may still be observed in several of the ancient ribbed arches on the Crowmarsh side, which were retained when the bridge was widened. The priory church was the church of the monastery of Black monks, which was suppressed *circa* 1525.

During the siege of the castle by the parliamentary forces, in 1646, some of the arches were removed, and drawbridges erected in their stead for the better security of the town. All ready communication with the opposite side of the river was thus stopped, except for the purposes of the garrison. The chapel over the gateway at the west end of the bridge, called Mary of Grace, was beat down at this time by the cannon of the besiegers.

Following an advertisement for "proposals for casting two arches," an agreement in 1751 is mentioned in the statute-book, with Joseph Absolon, of Wallingford, for "the doing the four arches of the great bridge."

In 1809, the corporation obtained an Act of Parliament for rebuilding, widening, and improving the bridge, which, owing to the violence of the then late floods, had been much damaged, and had become impassable, the central arches, one of which was called the queen's, having been destroyed. The stone for the new work was brought from Headington and Bath quarries, and the total expense, including £1000 for a temporary bridge, did not exceed £7000. The average annual income, arising from the tolls collected for passing over or under the bridge, amounted to about £500, being an increase of £300 over the sum received before the Act. In 1842, the money borrowed for the building having been paid off, the new tolls ceased, and the structure, with its approaches, toll-house, and estate, became vested solely in the corporation, pursuant to a clause in the Act, which reserved to them all their former rights and privileges.

The old tolls, imposed by the Act of Elizabeth and confirmed by that of Charles II., thus revived, and the right to recover them was on two occasions established in a court of law. Although of trifling amount, and levied only on non-residents, cases were constantly occurring of opposition to the impost, till some adventurous individual in the dead of night removed the toll-gate, and thus, meeting with a ready acquiescence, freed the bridge from toll. It is fortunate that the income of the estate is sufficient for the annual repair and maintenance of the structure, to which purpose it must be applied by the corporation, who are merely trustees, and have no beneficial interest. On a marble tablet against the parapet wall there is this memorial, "The bridge was widened in this part in 1770. Richard Toovey, mayor; William Toovey, William Mayne, bridgemen." See *post*, under the head "Public Charities."

THE TOWN HALL.

The guild or town hall stands on the south side of the market-place. The date of the erection of the original building is unknown, but we read of the Burghmote presided over by the mayor and bailiffs in 1232 (Henry III.), and the business was no doubt transacted in the hall of the burgh. The guildhall, with selds under it, is first mentioned in the reign of Edward II., and occurs constantly as the place wherein the Burghmotes were held. The present structure was built in 1670, slated and repaired in 1822, and does not appear to have occupied the site of the old guildhall. It is a plain building on stone pillars, without any exterior ornament. Costly alterations and additions to the council chamber were made in 1845 by the town clerk, John Allnatt Hedges, for which the thanks of the council are recorded in the minute-book. On the walls are hung portraits of Archbishop Laud, a benefactor to the town; Jacob Earl of Radnor, high steward; Sir Francis Sykes, Baronet, high steward, and for several years representative of the borough in parliament; Richard Benyon de Beauvoir, member for the borough for five years from 1807, and high steward from 1828 to 1844; William Seymour Blackstone, member for the borough from 1832 to 1852; Charles

Atherton Allnatt, taken at the desire and expense of the members of the corporation, on the fiftieth anniversary of his election into that body ; John Allnatt Hedges, painted at the like desire and expense ; Widdows Golding, a benefactor to the town charities ; Edward Wells, high steward and member for the borough from March, 1872, to June, 1880 ; and Francis Samuel Bunting, for which the public subscribed, in recognition of his benefaction of £1000 Consols to the almshouse charity. A liberal presentation, lately made by Mr. Hayllar of Castle Priory, has enabled the corporation to extend the portraiture to the walls of their hall. To that gentleman the thanks of the town are due for portraits of her Majesty, as a Jubilee memorial, together with portrait sketches of Henry Hawkins, then mayor ; G. D. Leslie, R.A. ; Thomas Frederick Wells, alderman ; John Hedges Marshall ; George Herbert Morrell, late M.P. ; A. G. Field ; and the author of this work. The walls are further embellished by two landscape paintings of local interest by Mr. Leslie, R.A., and Mr. Hayllar, for which we are indebted to Mr. Alderman Hawkins, at whose expense the commission was executed.

In the Jubilee year, 1887, a large sum was subscribed by the inhabitants to celebrate the event, which evoked a display of loyalty on the anniversary day worthy of the traditions of the town ; but, as a more lasting memorial, a considerable portion of the subscriptions was expended in improving the interior of the hall. The floor of the upper chamber was removed, and we have now a lofty, handsome room which partakes of the baronial style, and, with the other internal improvements and additions, is admirably adapted to the municipal, magisterial, and other purposes for which it is required. For much of the design we are indebted to Mr. Leslie, whose artistic skill, it will be seen, is not confined to canvas. The upper chamber of the town hall was formerly used as a kitchen, and with its capacious fireplace was an important adjunct at the mayor's annual feast, which in olden time was conducted with great liberality ; but on the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act it was discontinued.

In the open space under the town hall the corn market was originally held, first as a sample, and in 1817 as a

pitched market, and this continued till the year 1856, when the present corn exchange was erected by a joint-stock company.

THE BULL RING.

The paved ring round the obelisk in the market-place, formed of light-coloured stones, is called the bull-ring, concerning which I cannot find any record, although in most places in the Middle Ages the municipal authorities not only encouraged bull-baiting, but provided the bulls for the purpose at the cost of the corporation. The sport was extremely popular among all classes, dating back at least to the time of King John, and continuing up to the present century, when it was prohibited by Act of Parliament. In some places butchers were prohibited under fine from killing a bull for sale before it had been baited, and in the seventeenth century the cruel practice was enforced under a penalty, on the ground that it rendered the meat more wholesome.

POPULATION, ETC.

The town had not recovered at the commencement of the reign of George I., from the decay into which it had fallen in the time of Edward III., when a dreadful pestilence carried off great numbers of its inhabitants. The building of Culham and Dorchester bridges in 1415, and of Abingdon Bridge in 1436, contributed also to its decay, by diverting the great western road to Gloucestershire and South Wales from its former course through Wallingford. Thus we find that the population remained nearly stationary for several centuries, up to the end of the eighteenth, since which time there has been a gradual though steady increase. The recent census gives the number of inhabitants as 2989.

In 1795, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the better paving and lighting the town, under the provisions of which great improvements in the streets took place. Houses and shops were enlarged, and the trade of the town increased. Small as the town is, it may be fairly said that there is no place of its size in this and the neighbouring counties which

can boast of such handsome shops and places of business as those in the market-place and principal streets of the borough ; while the inhabitants have the advantage of a free library and literary institute ; the grammar schools for boys and girls, vested in trustees ; the national schools in the Kinecroft ; a church house in St. Leonard's parish ; a temperance hall ; and lately the corporation have constructed, at the public landing-stage near the bridge, a large and ornamental boat-house for the convenience of those frequenting the river, whose numbers are yearly increasing. Adjoining the Institute is the Wesleyan Chapel ; opposite St. Peter's Church is the Baptist Chapel ; and in St. Mary's Street is the newly erected Primitive Methodist Chapel. The churches are mentioned in a following chapter.

THE DRAINAGE OF WALLINGFORD.

Up to 1890 the objectionable cesspool system of drainage was largely adopted in the town, and the river Thames was made the receptacle, not only of the overflow from these cesspools, but of much noxious impurity which was discharged into it through pipes and conduits. Hence there was a direct infringement of the Thames Act of 1866, which obliged the Conservators to take action. The corporation, who were the local sanitary authority, recognized the importance and urgency of the case, and, after much inquiry and inspecting drainage works in other parts of England, they decided to adopt the "Shone Hydro-pneumatic System," upon the plan submitted to them by Messrs. Shone and Ault, C.E. The works were completed in October, 1891, at a cost of about £10,000, irrespective of the heavy expense of the connections with the houses and buildings. This later work has been in progress for some time, and, although not quite complete, the result appears to be perfectly satisfactory, and I am led with some confidence to hope, the other conditions being admittedly favourable, that with this system of drainage Wallingford at no distant date will be pronounced to be one of the most healthy towns in the kingdom. Situated on the Upper Greensand, from which its water is derived and distributed by the town waterworks, the purity of the supply cannot be surpassed, and such is

the geological formation of the district that we get this invaluable source of supply within a hundred feet of the surface, while the upper strata are gravel and sand of considerable thickness. To this porous soil we may attribute the fact that no epidemic in recent times has been known to spread in the town, which, according to the ordnance survey, is at an elevation of 165 feet.

A few interesting discoveries were made during the progress of the works, probably more than have come to my knowledge. The excavations in High Street and St. Martin's Street disclosed the fact that an immense number of unbroken pebbles had been used in the formation of the roads. Overlying several distinct strata of earth and rubble, these pebbles formed a covering in some places eight or ten inches thick, without mortar or other binding material, and about two feet below the existing surface of the street.

In other parts, particularly near the Lamb Hotel and in the market-place, at a depth of about six or eight feet, a thick layer of very black swampy soil was thrown up, from what appeared to be one of the moats or water defences of the town. Oyster-shells and animal bones in considerable numbers were also found, and unworked oak timber of large size, apparently in connection with sluices, was also discovered in several places,

CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

THE borough in former times contained thirteen churches, which, with that in the castle, may be classed as follows :—

Holy Trinity	} Belonging to religious foundations.
St. John the Baptist	
St. Lucien	
St. Nicholas, in the castle	
St. Mary the More, now existing	
St. Peter, now existing	} Parochial.
St. Leonard, now existing	
All Hallows, destroyed in the civil wars temp. Charles I.	
St. Mary the Minor	
St. John-super-Aquam	
St. Martin	
St. Michael	
St. Ruold or Rumbold	
St. Peter-in-the-West, probably parochial.	

The diminution in the number of churches took place after the great plague in the reign of Edward III. (1343), by which the town was greatly impoverished, many of the houses left desolate, and "only four churches sustained and beneficed." Although out of the fourteen churches enumerated no less than ten of them fell into disuse owing to this great calamity, it will be hardly correct to assume that there was anything more than a temporary cessation of parochial work, because there is a fairly regular record of institutions to eight of the churches up to a much later period than 1343.

As there were thirteen parishes in the town, it follows that each parish had its church, but we have no evidence of the origin or extent of these parishes.

HOLY TRINITY.

This was the conventual church of the Benedictine monks, or, as Leland calls it, "a priory of Black monks—a cell of St. Albans." It stood not far from the west gate, on the north side of High Street. Dugdale, Newcombe, and Clutterbuck agree in ascribing the foundation of this priory to Robert d'Oyley, the Norman chief, who endowed it with certain lands, and dedicated the church to the Holy Trinity; but other authorities point to its existence at an earlier period. Edward the Black Prince and Richard II. further endowed the priory, and King Henry VII. confirmed to it an annual sum of £8, to be paid by the town out of the fee farm rents, and he confirmed the title of the prior to the advowson of the church of Chinnor, Oxon. Preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford are no less than 162 charters relating to this priory. They are chiefly grants and confirmations of lands, and it would seem, by a letter from Thomas Cromwell to Cardinal Wolsey, dated 2nd of April, 1528, that the preservation of these "evidences" was due to the vigilance of Cromwell in transmitting them from Wallingford to Oxford at the time when the priory was suppressed and stripped of nearly all its contents. Among them is a charter of King Henry I., which is perhaps the earliest document extant relating to a grant of land to this priory.

Among the possessions of the priory was a manor at Eastbury, in the parish of Lambourne, Berks, whither the monks were in the habit of resorting. The fine parish church of Lambourne is said to have been built in the early part of the twelfth century; and St. Mary's Chapel, which is annexed to it, was built, we are told, by John of Eastbury about the year 1360. He was evidently a great man in the place, a large territorial proprietor, and probably the sculptured work in the chapel archway of men blowing horns and dogs chasing a hare, and also of fish, in contrast with the caricatures in the same archway of portly monks, mitred abbots, and the figure of a woman and a fool or jester, was intended to show how greatly the love of the chase and country pursuits were to be preferred to the rigid solitude

and sombre life of the Wallingford monks, whom the ludicrous figures are supposed to represent.

Cardinal Wolsey obtained the pope's bull for dissolving this and other small monasteries, and had their lands bestowed upon him by the king, 20 Henry VIII., with the intent that he should settle the same on the new college (Christchurch) which he was about to build at Oxford, in the ancient Priory of St. Frideswide. Twenty-five pages give in Latin the particulars of the surrender of the monastery on the 19th of April, 1525, by Prior Geoffrey to John Allen, notary public, with whom were associated as witnesses Thomas Cromwell and several others. The surrender is beautifully written on vellum, and there are still attached to it cords of faded purple and yellow silk, which once held the seal.

The grant by Henry VIII. in July, 1528, particularizes the possessions held by the priory, and supplies a key to the contents of 162 charters in the Bodleian Library.

Partly in a book and partly in documents, with corrections in the hand of Thomas Cromwell, are entered payments by him relating to Wallingford Priory in connection with the cardinal's college at Oxford. Among them appear the following :—

Costs of Cromwell and Croke riding to Oxford and being there with ten horses for eleven days, £13 12s.

Rewards to escheators for offices (inquisitions) for Wallingford, Fredyswide, and Littlemore, £4. To the escheator of Bucks at finding the offices of Wallingford, 40s.

Costs of juries at the finding of the offices, dinner of the jury and their horse meat, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, etc., in Bucks, 48s. 9d. for Wallingford.

For carriage of evidences from Wallingford to Oxford, canvas, and maling cord, 14d.

Man and horse from Wallingford to Oxford, 14d. ; paper, 6d. ; 1 lb. of wax, 8d. ; and cost of eighteen boxes "to put charters in."

Expenses riding down to Oxford, taking possession of the lands of Wyng and Wallingford. For himself, seven horses, and six men for eleven days, £5 3s. 2d.

To children and others present at taking possession, 17s. 2d. Cheer made to the tenants, 31s. 4d.

To Mr. Bale riding to York to get money from Lord Conyars, and to Wallingford to meet the dean of the castle, who is destroying their chapel there. To Bale, Parker, and Markham riding to Wallingford and staying there "ad servandum domum."

The fortnightly account of building expenses for the college from November, 1528, to May, 1530, shows that a large quantity of lead was taken from Wallingford Castle.

On Wolsey's attainder, divers manors and estates late belonging to the monastery of Wallingford reverted to the crown, and in 1531 the king granted to the Bishop of Lincoln, Henry Norris of the royal body, and others, to the use of the Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, a portion of these estates, comprising manors, rectories, messuages, lands, pensions, and hereditaments in Wallingford, West Hendreth, Clapcote, Craswell, Buckland, South Moreton, Ardington, Sotwell, Brightwell, Huddesbuddes, North Moreton, Aston Tyrrold, and Moulsoford, and also the advowson of Blewbury. A further portion was granted by the king, by way of exchange, to the abbot and convent of St. Albans. In 1547, the king exchanged with John Norris, Esq., for houses and lands at Windsor, "The capital messuage in Wallingford wherein the last prior did inhabit, with the houses, gardens, orchards, fish-ponds, etc.," together with the farm of the manor of the late priory and divers lands and pastures in Clapcote and elsewhere, late parcel of the possessions of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal, deceased. This estate afterwards belonged to the family of the Molyns, whose monuments were in the old church of St. Peter before its demolition. In making excavations some forty years ago, the foundations of the priory were discovered. They were constructed in flint of considerable thickness, and were so consolidated that the pick-axe was of little use. The walls were pulled down in 1723. Just without on the east side was unearthed a small stone coffin, the exterior length being two feet six inches, and the interior one foot eleven inches.

About the year 1840, in digging near the Great Pond, as it was then and may be now not inaptly called, and which was no doubt the fish-pond of the priory, a pointed oval metal seal was found, with the inscription, prominently

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cut in Norman letters, "Sigillum Secreti H," surrounding a white stone in the centre, and a serpent's head with open mouth grasping apparently an apple, which formed the eyelet. Several human skeletons have also been found near the site of the priory, but no trace of coffins could be discerned. Encaustic tiles of the date probably of Edward III. have been found there, similar to those which have been met with in great numbers within the castle grounds and in some of the older churches of Oxfordshire.

PRIORS OF WALLINGFORD.

The list of priors appears in the original history. The earliest name is that of Nicholas de Wallingford, who is mentioned *temp.* 4 Henry II. as having been entrusted by the king with an important mission to Rome and Ireland. He was probably also the prior of whom Peter de Blois complained of want of hospitality at the priory. Peter, who was invited to England by King Henry II., was made Archdeacon of Bath, and, on returning from the visitation of his archdeaconry, sent on his servants to Wallingford to prepare for his reception, and to seek from the prior, vacant houses for the accommodation of himself, his servants, and animals. These imperious directions provoked the displeasure of the prior, who, as the archdeacon tells us, "replied with much pride and abusive language, breaking out into insult, almost to the extent of blows." Nicholas was monk of St. Albans, and made Abbot of Malmesbury in 1182.

Several other priors were natives of Wallingford, and renowned for their great learning. Four of them were translated from the cell to the abbacy of St. Albans.

John de Wallingford, or de Cella, was abbot in 1195. He was the author of the "*Chronica Joannis Wallingford*," a book of reference containing a summary of events from the year 449 to 1089, but its chronological accuracy has been doubted. The front of the church of the abbey was partly rebuilt by him, and he made considerable additions to the abbey itself, and to defray the expense of a portion of the work the convent gave up their wine for the space of fifteen years.

Richard de Wallingford, the twenty-eighth abbot, elected

in 1326, derived his name, like his predecessor, from the place of his birth. He was the son of a blacksmith, and, being an orphan, was adopted at the age of ten years by Kyrkby, then Prior of Wallingford, who prepared him for the university of Oxford, where he took his degree of B.A. at twenty-three. He then assumed the Benedictine habit of St. Albans, but after three years was allowed to return to Oxford, and became an astronomer and geometrician, and invented a clock which was a wonderful specimen of his ingenuity as a mechanic, exhibiting the course of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the tides, etc. A representation of this marvellous clock, named Albion, with curious portraits of the abbot, may be seen in the illuminations to the Cott. Manuscripts, Claud E.X. and Nero DVII. He was distinguished also as a public lecturer licensed by the university, and as the author of several works. After six years' government of the abbey, he was rendered incapable of performing the duties of the office by total blindness and an infiction of leprosy, which probably hastened his death in 1335, in the ninth year of his elevation.

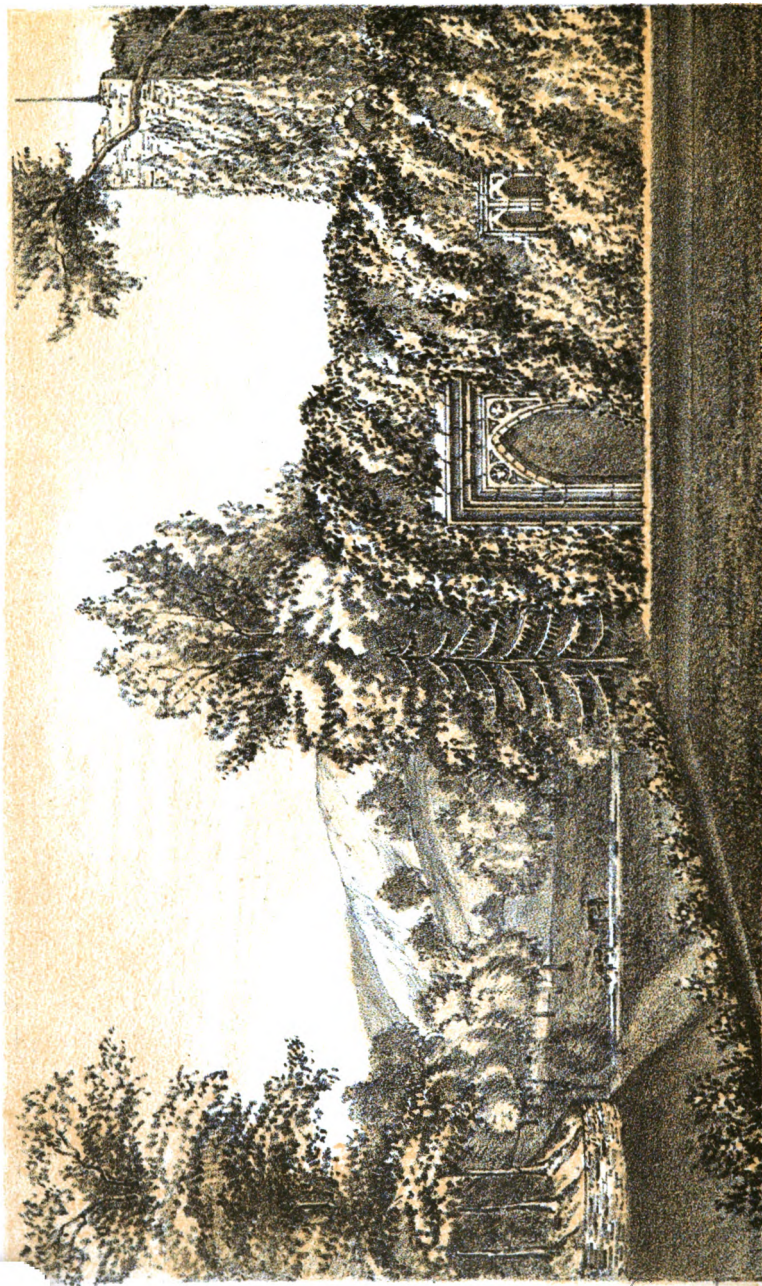
John Stoke was the thirty-fourth abbot, and took with him many articles from Wallingford to embellish the abbey. He governed eleven years, and spent large sums on the church and monastery. A handsome tomb with figures, one of which is ornamented with a mitre set with precious stones, beneath a triple Gothic canopy, marks the spot of his interment in the nave of the abbey.

The fourth Prior of Wallingford, who was elevated to the dignity of Abbot of St. Albans, was William de Wallingford. Having served the offices of bursar, cellarer, and forester, he became archdeacon, and afterwards prior and abbot. During his time, in the year 1480, the art of printing, which had been brought into England by Caxton a few years before, was introduced into the monastery. The great achievement of this abbot was the erection of the high altar-screen at a cost of eleven hundred marks. It has lately been restored and enriched by Mr. H. H. Gibbs, and is considered to be the noblest piece of architecture of which the abbey can boast. The gifts to the sacred edifice by this abbot are said to have amounted to £8060.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

This was a free chapel attached to the hospital of that name, which was situated without the south gate in the parish of St. Leonard, distant from the church one furlong. It appears to have been founded by the inhabitants of the town "to the intent to have a priest to say mass yearly upon St. John the Baptist's day, and at none other time." It is stated that the hospital was also founded by the inhabitants, but this is doubtful, as is also the date of erection. It was endowed in the reign of Edward I. for poor men and women, but there are extant several grants to the hospital in the preceding reign, one of which was by the celebrated Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; and in these and subsequent records are frequent references to the master, brethren, and sisters of the hospital. Judging from the number of free grants among the archives of the corporation, the institution must have had rather a large foundation. Attached to this hospital was that of St. Marye Maudlyn in Nuneham Murren on the other side of the river, to which persons afflicted with leprosy were sent. In the Middle Ages, so prevalent was this loathsome disease that nearly every borough had its spital or lazar house, in which lepers were obliged by law to enter, or else to seclude themselves entirely from society. In the reign of Elizabeth, owing probably to the sudden introduction and liberal use of garden vegetables, and the abandonment of so much salt meat, the plague had declined to such an extent that the officers appointed under the Act of Edward I. to collect alms for the lazar house, were punished as rogues and vagabonds for continuing their calling, on the ground that the system led to abuse.

The privilege of presentation of fit persons to this hospital and that of St. Mary Magdalene was conferred by the corporation, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., on Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., Edmond Ashfield, Esq., and others.



Stanley Leighton, del.

Littleton Wilson, lith. 3, Cecil & St. Halborn, London, E.C.

RUINS OF ST NICHOLAS' COLLEGE, WALLINGFORD.

ST. LUCIEN

is described as a church five poles southward of the almshouse, and that "the ground which the minister of Wallingford paid for" extended as far as the knoll in the footpath leading to Winterbrook, the mill ditch being the boundary of the parish. This church, with that of St. Leonard, and all their appurtenances, was given by Henry I. to the monastery of St. Frideswide, now Christ Church, in Oxford.

THE COLLEGE OF ST. NICHOLAS.

The situation of the college and its church, called the King's Free Chapel, was within the second dyke of the castle, surrounded by fortifications. Milo Crispin, son-in-law and successor of Robert d'Oyley, appears, by an inquisition taken at Oxford in 1183, to have been the founder, but it is not till the beginning of the reign of King John that we find any express reference to deans and prebendaries as attached to the college. A liberal endowment for the support of a master, five chaplains, six clerks, and four choristers was made to it in 1278 by Edmund Earl of Cornwall, a cousin of King Edward I., who succeeded to the ownership of Wallingford Castle. The revenues were augmented by Edward the Black Prince, who gave the advowson of the church of Harwell. The college was, however, so impoverished in the time of Henry VI. that the king bestowed upon it ten marks yearly, to be paid by the receiver of his honour of Wallingford. The steeple was built between the years 1510 and 1536 by Dr. Underhill, the dean, at the west end of the collegiate chapel, and in the construction he defaced without licence a piece of the "king's lodging," adjoining the eastward end of the chapel. The dean's lodging was within the castle. A letter from Dr. London, elected dean in 1536, to the lord privy seal, mentions that the college, including the dean's, priest's, and clerk's lodgings, had been nearly wholly rebuilt by Henry VIII. within eight years, and he prays the king to bestow on it the ornaments from the dissolved monastery of Abingdon, of which it stood in great need. The yearly

revenue of the college at this time amounted to £149 8s. It was suppressed probably in the early part of the reign of Edward VI.

Dr. London, who was the last Dean of St. Nicholas, and also Dean of Osney, Warden of New College, Oxford, Canon of York, Lincoln, Sarum, and of St. George's, Windsor, and rector of several parishes, was appointed one of the commissioners by Henry VIII. to survey the religious houses. He was associated with Thomas Cromwell in the work of spoliation, and probably greatly enriched himself out of the spoil of the wholesale plunder that was committed. He appears to have been a worthless and depraved ecclesiastic, and was ultimately convicted of perjury and other serious crimes, and in 1540 died miserably in the Fleet prison.

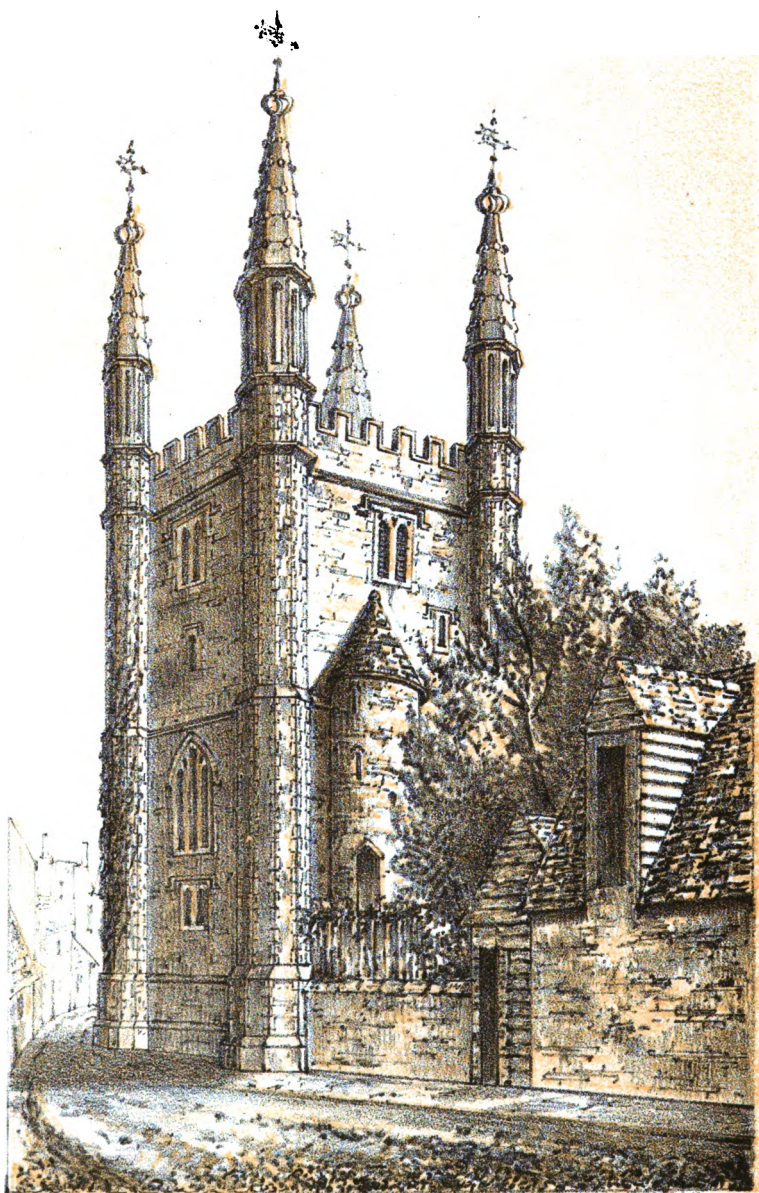
After the dissolution of religious houses, the church of St. Nicholas and the buildings connected with it were despoiled of all the profitable materials. Nothing now remains but the ruined portions of the outer walls, including those of the tower, which are nine feet thick, and doubtless formed the base of the steeple referred to. An extensive view is obtained from the summit, approached by a path formed along the top of the wall. The doorway and four windows, constructed of freestone, overlook the traditionally called "Priest's Orchard," and bear traces of alterations late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century. It is supposed that the burying-ground of the garrison adjoined this church on the south-east.

In 1548, the site of the college with some land adjoining was purchased by the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, Oxford, as a place of retirement in times of sickness; but the students, among whom was Camden, appear to have resorted there chiefly for recreation.

ST. MARY THE MORE (OR GREATER).

One of the chief claims to interest of this church is that, in the opinion of some of the most competent authorities, it occupies the site of the first Christian church in the neighbourhood, and is built on the very spot where once was to be found a Roman basilica.

The church occupies the south side of the market-place,



Stanley Leighton, del.

Littleton-Wilday, lith, 9, Castle St. Aldershot, London, E.C.

TOWER OF ST MARY'S CHURCH. WALLINGFORD.

and is supposed to have been founded soon after the Norman Conquest, when "half of its rights were added with other property to the abbey of Saint Albans"—a gift that was confirmed by King Henry I. The chief part of the church was rebuilt about the close of the thirteenth century.

One of the earliest references to briefs for parochial collections after the Reformation refers to this church in connection with the repair of the tower, which, it is recorded, had been "rent from top to bottom by an extraordinary storm of thunder and lightning on the night of Ascension Day, 1638."

Oliver Cromwell, in 1650, made St. Mary the More the mother-church of a union of parishes, and annexed to it *inter alia* the tithes of three other town parishes, namely, St. Leonard's, St. Peter's, and All Saints—a rich endowment very far exceeding its present revenue, which is utterly inadequate. St. Mary's was the only church in the town which escaped material injury during the Civil War, and this circumstance, we may infer, led to the union. Cromwell's acts, however, were not recognized after the Restoration to have any legal validity, and hence we find that in 1693 a petition was presented by the corporation to King William III., praying that the three parishes might be united under the statutes then in force, but no union appears to have been effected at that time.

The western embattled Perpendicular tower, with octagonal turrets at the angles, was built in 1653 by William Loader, whose name is inscribed on a stone at the south-west angle. He was a builder of some repute and mayor of the town, dismissed by an ordinance of the Long Parliament for his adherence to royalty, as before mentioned. Much of the material with which the tower was built and the fabric repaired was brought from the castle, the destruction of which had commenced in the previous year. The turrets are surmounted by tall panelled and crocketed pinnacles, each terminating in a crown carved in stone which were brought from the castle, it is said, by the inhabitants of the town at the Restoration, and erected on the turrets to mark their sense of loyalty. The handsome tower contains an illuminated clock, fixed in 1868 at a cost of about £230, raised by voluntary contributions, and also a fine ring of

eight bells, highly finished, which are attached to massive timber beams of Spanish chestnut or oak, with ornamental mouldings, doubtless brought also from the castle. During the Jubilee year the tenor bell, which had been cracked, was recast and rehung at the expense of the author, and considerable repairs were effected in the belfry.

The east window, by Clayton and Bell, and the marble reredos, are to the memory of the author's only son, and the south-west window, by Willement, to his father. The pulpit, of rare Italian marble, constructed by Farmer and Brindly, the chief value of which consists in the three large panels of sculptured bronze of great artistic beauty, by E. Onslow Ford, A.R.A., was erected in 1889 to the memory of the late Reginald Lybbe Powys Lybbe, who died during the third year of his mayoralty.

Among the mural monuments of an earlier date within the church are those of Henry Stampe, grandson of Sir Michael Molyns, dated 1610 ; of Walter Bigg, alderman of London, 1659, a liberal benefactor to the town, and "a great lover of this his native place ;" of Thomas Renda, of Wallingford Castle, who represented the borough in several parliaments, and died in 1722 ; and of John Cottingham, who was also representative in parliament "for the corporation," and died in 1746.

In the reign of Henry VI., sundry church ornaments, comprising the "best chalice, a paten clean gilt, one pix of silver, and one pix of clean gilt," were delivered by the churchwardens to John Adene, the then mayor, and sold for £9 9s. 5d., but not for the benefit of the church. A system of speculation was so common at that time among those who were brought into contact with church goods, that royal commissioners were appointed to check the practice, and through the medium of the commission not only was this sum refunded, but the safe keeping of certain other church goods, of which an inventory had been taken by the commissioners, was secured. The inventory is dated the 6th of August, 6 Edward VI., and among the articles enumerated are "three belles in the steeple and one sanctus belle."

The list of incumbents shows that due provision was made for spiritual ministrations in the parish from the year

1311 to 1386, and subsequently from 1658 in fairly regular succession. 'There is no record of any institution during the interval, except in 1517, and about 1547.

The churchwardens' accounts commence in 1657, during the usurpation of Cromwell. The baptismal register commences in 1638, and that of marriages in 1653. The marriages during about ten years from that date were all solemnized either before the mayor, or a justice of the peace for the borough, with one exception when "Mr. Thomas Pinkney, minister of St. Mary's Church," officiated. The register of burials commences in 1671. An entry, referring to the ferry at Shillingford, shows that there was no bridge at that place in 1678.

On the south side of the tower, but now obscured from view by the side aisle, is a margined stone slab fixed in the wall, on which in bas-relief is represented an effigy of an armed warrior, similar to that which has been described on the borough seal.

In 1854, the chancel was remodelled, though the walls were not removed. The aisles were widened, the nave lengthened by shortening the chancel, and three arches substituted for the two wider ones. Of the church of fifty years ago little now remains, except the tower and monuments. The cost of restoration amounted to £2484 14s. 7d. St. Mary's contains five hundred seats for the poorer inhabitants. The sixty-four sittings assigned by the faculty to the rector and his successors were liberally placed, about fourteen years ago, at the free disposal of the parishioners by the then rector, the Rev. Charles Faunce Thorndike, and continued by the late and present rectors, the Rev. Charles Andrews Raymond, and the Rev. Alfred Wranus Newport Deacon.

The churchyard was first enlarged about seventy or eighty years ago, when a public road which ran through it, connecting Fish, now St. Mary's, Street and St. Martin's Street, was discontinued and added thereto.

The rectory house was rebuilt some few years ago on land near the railway station, and the cost was defrayed by public subscription.

The living of St. Mary's is a discharged rectory rated in the king's books at £4, and was formerly in the gift of the

lord chancellor, but the Bishop of Oxford is now the patron. On the retirement of the Rev. John Langley in 1872, the rectories of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's, which had been united for many years, were separated.

ST. LEONARD'S

is supposed to have been an Anglo-Saxon church destroyed by the Danes in 1006, and to have been afterwards rebuilt, soon after the Norman Conquest, by Robert d'Oyley, who married the daughter of the wealthy and powerful Wigod of Wallingford. The chancel and sanctuary arches are objects of much interest, and exhibit Norman work of the diaper flat and knob pattern, which, according to Mr. James Parker, is not to be found at Oxford, nor in any other church within the diocese. The capitals of the shafts are ornamented with basketwork, a pattern which is also carried round the chancel arch.

Mr. Park Harrison, in his interesting paper read at the Oxford Congress in 1890, refers to a Romanesque window which he discovered under a coat of plaster on the south side of the church. Flush with the exterior face of the wall, and a little to the east, he describes the priest's door, with a triangular head formed of flints and supported by two-inch bricks and oak framing of considerable antiquity and rare construction. It will be observed, on inspection, that this framework is formed of a solid piece of wood. The semi-circular apse occupies the site of the former one, having been built on the old foundations, but not much can be said for the geometrical skill of the builder.

During the siege of Wallingford the church was converted into barracks for the soldiers, and greatly injured, the south aisle and original apse having, it is said, been entirely destroyed by fire. Fire-stains appear on the chancel arches and on some of the old bond stones on the east side, which Mr. Harrison is disposed to attribute to Sweyn in 1006, but the greater probability is that this was the work of Cromwell's soldiers. The church, after having laid many years in a dilapidated condition, was repaired and restored in Queen Anne's reign, and reopened for divine service about Michaelmas, 1704.

In 1850, the church was again enlarged, and partially restored and repewed. The apse, south aisle, and tower were added ; and the graveyard was extended at a cost of about £1100, which was defrayed by voluntary contributions. The workmen employed state that charred timbers were found, and that an old door on the south side was then removed and taken away ; some fresco work of a flower pattern over the first inner arch, and of figures on the south side of the chancel, was discovered, but it was too imperfect to be restored, and was consequently destroyed. This church, with that of St. Lucien, was given by King Henry I. to the monastery of St. Frideswide.

By the inventory, indented 6 Edward VI., of church goods and articles, the commissioners delivered to the churchwardens one chalice of silver parcel gilt, three altar cloths, one corporax, one pixe of lattene, three vestments with albes and other things belonging thereto, two copes, two towels, one surplice, one candlestick of lattene, one cross of copper, three bells, and three painted clothes before the altar, safely to be kept and preserved, and to be forthcoming at all times hereafter when required.

The little chapel of Sotwell, in the neighbouring parish of Brightwell, belonged to this rectory till the year 1868, when it was disannexed and added to the latter parish by an Order in Council dated the 14th day of May in that year.

The burial-ground attached to this church is bounded on the east by the brook which once formed part of the circumvallation of the town, the ancient entrenchment still remaining in several parts.

This living, like St. Mary's, was formerly in the gift of the lord chancellor, but the patronage is now vested in the Bishop of Oxford. It is described as a discharged rectory, valued in the king's books at £7 12s. 6d. with the church of Sotwell.

The register of christenings, marriages, and burials commences in 1711. The entries are neatly written on parchment, and the book No. 1, which as respects marriages ends in 1753, and as respects baptisms and burials ends in 1762, is well kept. The old parish books commence about 1645, and contain terriers of land and rent belonging to the church.

The list of incumbents commences in 1299, and, with a break between 1363 and 1634, is continued up to the present time.

Through the instrumentality of the Rev. W. C. Sayer-Milward, who was rector of the parish for seventeen years, and, to the regret of the parishioners, has recently left, a sufficient sum was subscribed a few years ago to build a rectory-house, which is pleasantly situated on the south of the town.

ST. PETER'S.

The original structure was laid in ruins during the siege by the parliamentary forces in 1642 or 1643. The church was rebuilt in 1769, and the spire erected in 1775, at a cost of about £2179, chiefly at the instance of the late Mr. Justice Blackstone, author of the "Commentaries on the Laws of England," whose country residence, Castle Priory, was situated within the parish on the banks of the river Thames. Much of that learned author's great work was written, it is believed, within the quiet solitude of its walls. His remains lie buried in the family vault just within the chancel. The church was reopened for divine service on St. Peter's Day, A.D. 1769. The spire has given rise to a good deal of architectural criticism as being of a nondescript character; its height with the tower is 109 feet, and the vane and spindle nine feet six inches. The architect, Mr. Robert Taylor, in a letter to the judge, expresses his earnest desire that no bells may ever be placed in the tower, which, he remarks, was not constructed for both bells and spire. In the old church there were monuments to the memory of the family of Molyns, and of James previously mentioned, and some of whom represented the borough in parliament. The former had their seat at Clapcote, and the mansion belonging to the latter family was standing in 1644 near the bridge. St. Peter's is valued in the king's books at £6 1s. 3d. as a discharged rectory. The parsonage-house belonging to this parish is situated in Wood Street, in St. Leonard's parish, and about the close of the seventeenth century, it is recorded, was "inhabited by the minister of the town, who holds by his terrier all the tithes that can be

recovered." The presentation was inherited successively by members of the Blackstone family. The patronage afterwards passed by purchase to the late Bishop Wilberforce, and is now vested in his successors of Oxford. Institutions to the rectory are recorded from 1320 to 1386, and from 1711 to the present time. The Rev. W. Russell is the present rector.

Beauty as well as talent appears to have been well represented in this parish a century or so ago. The author of the "Commentaries" may be classed among the foremost of the learned men of his time, while beauty was personified in the innkeeper's daughters. The landlord of the Lamb Hotel in High Street, formerly called the Bell, had three sons and seven daughters, all of whom were baptized in St. Peter's Church. The belles numbered three only, and their personal attractions were such that the story of their alliances is current at the present day. Frances married William, second Viscount Courtney, and had thirteen daughters and one son, the latter being the third viscount. Another daughter married Sir John Honeywood, Bart., of Evington, in Kent. The third is also said to have married some one with a title. The eldest child of Lord and Lady Courtney married in 1779 her first cousin, Sir John Honeywood, Bart.

The earliest register of baptisms and burials in this parish commences in 1711, and ends in 1812. That of marriages is endorsed No. 2, and commences 1769, ending 1812.

On the 20th of January, 1551, Thomas Donnington and Hughe Clerke, churchwardens of the parish, appeared before the mayor and others, and brought in the following ornaments of the church :—

"The best chalice there, weighing $12\frac{1}{4}$ oz. Item certain plate, silver of a cross, weighing $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and half a quarter of an ounce besides; the nails $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce unweighed, because they be in doubt whether they be silver, yea or nay; total $22\frac{3}{4}$ oz. . . . [*torn*] . . . delivered into the hands of Mr. Pollington [he was one of the aldermen of the borough]. Item, one standing cup, parcel gilt, weighing $13\frac{1}{4}$ oz." [*page defaced*].

On the 2nd of August, 6 Edward VI., the following

church goods were delivered to Hughe Clerke and John Wriggellysworth, churchwardens :—

“One challeys parcell gilte iij belles and the santuous bell one cope panyd w^t blewe cheker velvet w^t one other olde cope w^t byrdes of golde, ix. vestamentes good and bade iij with theire amessys, foure awter clothes wherof ij of theme be paynted and the other ij of saye w^t iiij curteghns of saye collo^r redd and yellowe ij towells and iij corporaces w^t theire casses and alle the seid percells safely to be kept and preserved.”

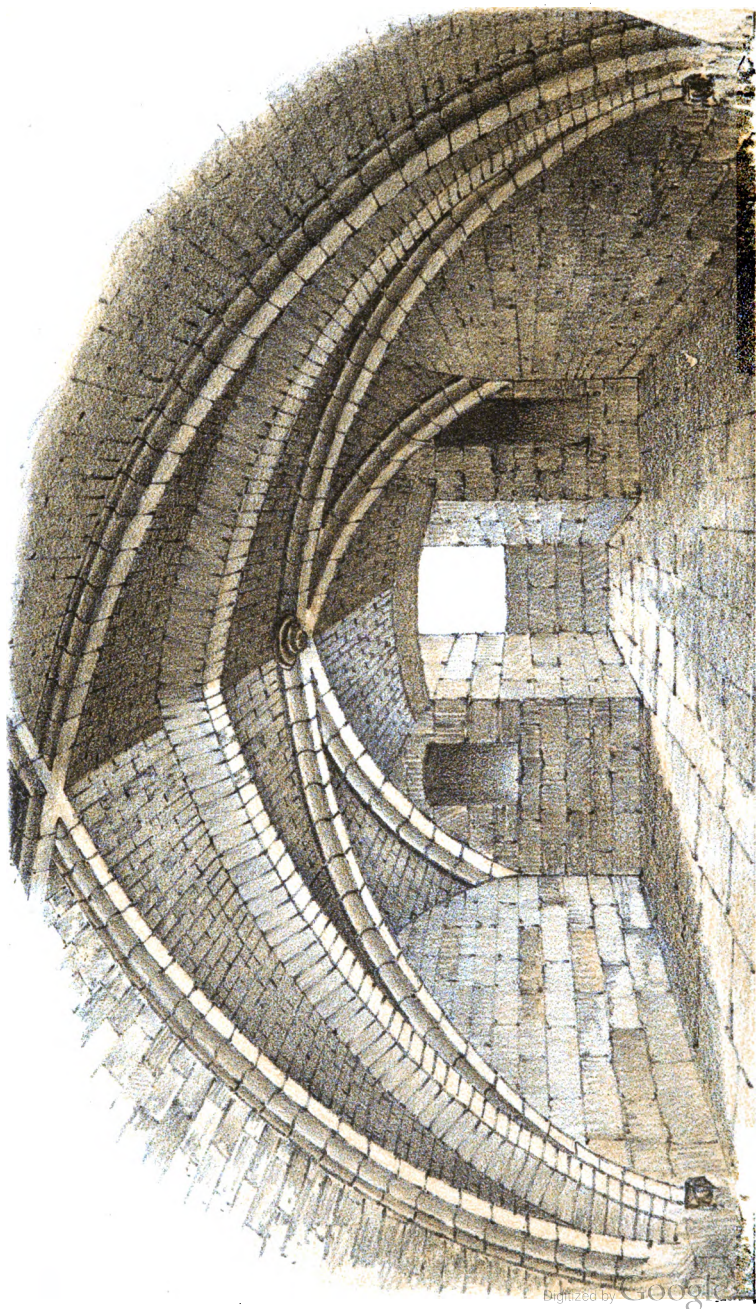
ALL SAINTS.

This was a rectory in the gift of the crown from an early date. The parish, including the liberty of Clapcote, is situated partly within and partly without the borough, and its old church, which stood close to the castle walls, was probably erected by the great Saxon thane Wigod, or his son-in-law Robert d'Oyley, or Milo Crispin. The first authentic record of All Saints is A.D. 1200, when an institution of a rector took place, who succeeded a former rector, and subsequently several royal presentations were made. In 1278, Richard II. granted the advowson to the dean and prebendaries of the College of St. Nicholas within the castle, who doubtless attended to the spiritual ministrations of the parish, no presentation having been made to the church after this reign. Under the Act of 1335, the advowson passed to the Prince of Wales, with the Castle and Honour of Wallingford, and was held by him as part of the Duchy of Cornwall. On the suppression of the College of St. Nicholas, the tithes passed to Cardinal Wolsey with other confiscated property of the college, and on his attainder to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI. In Queen Mary's reign, Cardinal Pole, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, became the possessor, and a subsequent archbishop and Sir John Bennett of London granted them, *temp.* Charles I., to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Oxford, who are the impropiators of both the great and small tithes, which were commuted at about £375 per annum.

The church, having been disused for nearly a century,

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Stanley Leighton, del.

William Waley, lith. 9 Castle St. Holborn, London, E.C.

STONE VAULTING IN A CELLAR IN HIGH STREET, WALLINGFORD.

was destroyed during the Civil War, which raged at Wallingford from 1641 to 1647, and the graveyard alone remained for parish use. The parishioners were thus left in a state of spiritual destitution up to a recent period, and were even dependent on the voluntary services of a neighbouring clergyman for the burial of their dead. This scandal was removed some ten years ago, and an arrangement made whereby the college secured to the Rector of St. Mary's tithe rent-charges as commuted, amounting to £30 5s. 6d. per annum, out of the confiscated property, in consideration of his taking over the care of the parish, and now the two parishes have been legally united for ecclesiastical purposes.

Presentations to the church of All Saints are recorded in the registers of the Bishop of Salisbury from the year 1199 to 1362 inclusive.

ST. MARY THE MINOR.

This church was united to St. Peter's in the year 1874, with the church of St. Michael, and is supposed to have stood on the south side of High Street, opposite the premises belonging to the bridge estate, formerly called the Bear Inn. At this spot there are the groined remains in stone of what appears to have been a crypt, indicative of the site of this church, having two piscinæ at the south-west, and till lately a stone staircase leading from it, not to the street, but in an eastward direction.

There are documents among the corporation papers which refer to stalls in the yard of this church for merchandise, particularly in the reign of Henry III. Although it was customary in those days to erect such stalls in churchyards, I do not find express mention of them in connection with any other churchyard in the town.

One presentation only to this church is recorded, namely, John Berewyk, rector, September 8, 1349. Probably Berewyk was the last incumbent, for on the union with St. Peter's in 1374, John Mauny was instituted rector of the united churches.

St. Mary the Minor is mentioned as a parish *temp.* Henry III.

ST. JOHN'S-SUPER-AQUAM.

This church was situated in Thames Street, and was united to St. Peter's in 1452. In several old title-deeds the name is retained as descriptive of the land on which it is supposed to have stood, namely, on the north-west of Castle Priory. As the name denotes, the church stood above the river, and was thus distinguished from St. John the Baptist, which was situated without the south gate. St. John-super-Aquam is also mentioned in the archives of the corporation as a parish *temp.* Henry III.

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH

is supposed to have stood near the street of that name on the south-west of St. Mary's Church, between the Black Boy public-house, the site of which is not known, and the Lamb Inn, formerly the Bell. On opening a cellar and gravel-pit in 1712, a great quantity of human bones were disclosed, lying in order, most of them in tombs constructed with stones and mortar; and the foundations of a building, supposed to be the church, were traceable. Johannes Piscator, or John Fisher, is the first recorded rector in the year 1298, and the names of fourteen successors are given, the last in 1386.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

was united to St. Peter's in 1374. It stood near the lower wharf; the churchyard adjoined some ground called Tobyns, part of the Castle Priory estate. "The minister of St. Peter's receives rent for the disused churchyard as a part of his glebe." The first institution of an incumbent recorded was in 1330, and the last in 1348, the names of seven incumbents appearing in the interval.

ST. RUMBOLD'S, OR ST. RUALD'S CHURCH.

This is the only church the situation of which cannot be traced with some degree of certainty. The bishop's registers give the names of six incumbents, the first

being Thomas Rowland, inducted January 31, 1806, on the resignation of a former rector ; and the last Nicholas de Circestro, inducted April 20, 1852.

ST. PETER-IN-THE-WEST

was situated in the corner of the Kinecroft, over against Stone Hall. The site of this church is probably now occupied by some of the buildings belonging to the brewery. Recent excavations in the irregular ground in the croft near the now disturnpiked road, further westward than the spot above indicated, have not led to the discovery of anything beyond some large-sized clinkers.

The discovery of human bones in Wallingford is by no means a rare occurrence, and, when not found in perfect order, must not be taken as evidence of the existence of a churchyard at the spot.

About sixty years ago, in lowering a bank on the west of the second moat, which now forms part of the lawn around this house, a large number of human skeletons were found—so many, that it may almost be said they formed a complete stratum for a considerable space. No order was observed in the burial of the bodies, and the conjecture was that they must have fallen in battle, and that the earth had been thrown over them. There was a remarkable peculiarity in all the skulls, which appeared to belong to a remote age. So far as my recollection serves me, there was scarcely one with the ordinary type of forehead ; abrupt recession from the eyebrows was the uniform characteristic, and most of the skulls were particularly thick. The late Dr. Buckland came over to inspect the *locus in quo*, was greatly interested, and took away with him to Oxford several of the skulls.

In 1877, another discovery of human skeletons, in considerable numbers, was made just within the outer entrenchment, in the ground on the south of Goldsmith's Lane, upon which the foundry of Messrs. Wilder now stands. These skeletons are stated to have been all of large size, and, so far as could be observed, were of males only. They were not lying in any order, excepting one, which particularly attracted attention from its great size and perfect state. This was protected by rough stone slabs, placed edgewise

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on either side ; and near it was a piece of stone about twelve inches square, which was hollowed in the centre, as if to receive the head. With this exception, there was no trace of any coffin. The probability is that these also were the skeletons of soldiers who had fallen in battle. One skeleton, from its position and twisted shape, was pronounced by a medical gentleman who inspected it to have been that of a man who had died in agony.

CHARITIES.

SIR THOMAS BENNETT'S Charity was founded in 1616, and now consists of three-eighteenths of an estate at Kirton, in Lincolnshire, vested in the Mercers' Company, and £1081 11s. 9d. New Consols, which produce about £112 per annum. The objects of his bounty were "fifteen of the more poor and aged sort of men and women of the borough as most need shall appear," who were to receive 26s. 8d. yearly, or 13s. 4d. half-yearly, "so long as he or she shall live and be of good and honest behaviour, and serving God in the churches there weekly, every sabbath day at the least." In course of time the estate at Kirton greatly increased in value, and the fifteen poor persons received a sum of £12 per annum, and subsequently £10 each, up to a recent period. At the present time, owing to the great agricultural depression that exists, the income is so reduced that the poor recipients get only £6 10s. per annum. Sir Thomas Bennett was an alderman of London, and lord mayor in 1603. He was the third son of Thomas Bennett, of Clapcote, Esq., who was buried in All Hallows churchyard, where a plain stone slab, in a very dilapidated condition, marked the spot till 1839. At this date a handsome Gothic stone monument was erected to his memory by the trustees of the public charities of the town, out of the charity funds, as directed by the founder. The last-named Thomas Bennett married Anne, daughter of Sir Michael Molyns, of Mackney, from whom descended Sir John Bennett, K.B., who was created Baron Ossulston in 1682, and whose son, Charles, the second baron, was created Earl of Tankerville in 1714; the present earl, Charles Augustus Bennett, P.C. and Baron Ossulston, being the sixth in succession.

MAJOR BIGG'S CHARITY.

This consisted, up to about the year 1835, of a net annual sum of £20 regularly paid by the Merchant Taylors' Company to the corporation, one moiety of which was to be distributed among ten poor persons of the borough receiving parochial relief for life, the electors being the mayor and the Rector of St. Mary's. The other moiety was given towards the erection of a free grammar school for the instruction of six boys, sons of parents residing in the town. It would appear from the inscription on a tradesman's token, found at Wallingford, that this benefactor was an innkeeper in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London. The farthing piece is thus inscribed—

Ob. : "Walt Bigg at the Bell = a Bell."

Re. : "Gyleses in the Feildes = a Bell."

The benefaction was secured by the grant of a messuage and premises in the parish of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, on the site of which has been erected the extensive range of buildings in and near Soho Square occupied by Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell at a largely increased rental. No nominations were made to the school for many years, and, the income accumulating in which this charity participated, a sufficient sum was at length raised to enable the trustees of the public charities, with the aid of private subscriptions, to erect in 1869, at a cost of about £3000, the handsome building near the Great Western Railway Station, which comprises capacious grammar schools, with residences for the master and mistress, so constructed as to be easily capable of enlargement. To meet the benefaction to the ten poor persons, an annual sum of £26 is set apart, which yields 24s. every half-year to the recipients.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CHARITY.

This charitable archbishop bequeathed £50 per annum upon certain trusts for apprenticing five boys each year for two years consecutively, and each third year towards the marriage portions of three poor maids. The boys to be at least fourteen years of age, of the Church of England, born

in the town, of honest poor people. Special regard was to be given to the fatherless in making the election, and no boy was to be eligible whose father had not been a resident for fourteen years. The maids were to be at least eighteen years old, natives of the town, of the Church of England, and who had served, not at home with their parents, but abroad, one master or mistress for at least three years together. The elections are directed by the will to be made in church. The income is derived from fee farm rents issuing out of estates at East Hagbourn and Aston Upthorpe, producing about £43 per annum, and the dividends of £272 2s. Consols.

THE ALMSHOUSE CHARITY.

This hospital was built and endowed to provide comfortable apartments for six poor widows or widowers within the borough, by Mr. William Angier and Mary his sister, A.D. 1681. The former was a burgess, and probably the son of John Angier, who was an ironmonger in the town, and whose farthing tokens are dated 1669. The endowment was augmented by the late Mr. Job Wells, Mr. Thomas Toovey and wife, and consisted of land, eyots, and fishery at Chalgrove, Northstoke, and Cholsey, which have lately greatly deteriorated in value. This deterioration would have necessitated a reduction in the weekly payments but for the liberality of Mr. Francis Samuel Bunting, one of the town council, who generously increased the endowment by a gift of £1000 Consols, making, with the sums mentioned below, the consolidated stock £1708 18s. 10d., the dividends of which, with the rents, produce an income of about £94 per annum.

	£	s.	d.	
Charity of John Richardson	200	0	0	New Consols.
„ Henry Wells Reynolds	111	3	2	„ „
„ Richard Deacon	197	5	8	„ „
„ Henrietta Coles	200	10	0	„ „

FLUDGER'S CHARITY.

Henry Fludger, a member of the old corporation, gave £1000 Consols, now represented by £900 Consols, upon trust to distribute the dividends annually among thirty poor men and women of the borough, being at least sixty years of age.

GOLDING'S CHARITY.

Widdows Golding, whose portrait is suspended in the council chamber, was a native of Wallingford, and practised as a surgeon and apothecary at Reading. He died in 1820, and by will gave certain trust-moneys, now represented by £1600 New Consols, the dividends of which were to be applied in the purchase and distribution of several specified articles of clothing, flannel, and blankets for the benefit of such "paupers" residing in the borough as the corporation considered most deserving.

MORRELL'S CHARITY.

The late Charles Morrell, Esq., of Sloane Street, Middlesex, and Bridge House, Wallingford, bequeathed to the corporation funded stock, now consisting of £4075, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Consols, the annual income of which was to be divided equally between ten poor persons of Wallingford, considered to be most worthy.

COTTAGE HOSPITAL.

This institution owes its origin to the late estimable lady, Miss Mary Morrell, of Whitecross, who, for about two years, acted as lady superintendent at the temporary building. She was removed by death from her sphere of usefulness before the erection of the permanent structure, the cost of which, to the extent of £1000, was generously defrayed by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Morrell, of Headington Hill Hall, Oxford, on land given by Mr. Henry Hawkins, the then

mayor of the town, subject to certain conditions. The hospital is designed for eight patients, and is dependent on voluntary contributions for its maintenance, towards which Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bertie Watkin Williams Wynn, of Howbery Park, are liberal contributors.

It was opened on April 21, 1881.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS

were erected in 1861, at the expense of about £1400, raised by voluntary subscription. They have since been enlarged and improved, and are supported by annual contributions supplemented by Government grants, which vary according to the standard of efficiency attained by the pupils, of whom, on January 31, 1892, there was an average attendance of 340 out of a total on the books of 457. The boys numbering 151; the girls, 144; and the infants, 162.

HURST'S CHARITY.

A sum of about £5 10s. yearly, being the dividend of £201 3s. Consols invested in the names of trustees, is distributed by the churchwardens of St. Mary's parish in bread to such poor people of that parish "as choose to apply for it on the day of distribution." The benefactor was probably Roger Hurst, who was appointed by Richard II. groom of the chamber in the Castle of Wallingford, and of whose good service the king spoke highly.

THE BRIDGE ESTATE CHARITY.

We must add to the list of public charities that of the Bridge Estate, which, under the Act of 43 Elizabeth, is classed as a charity and vested in the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales. It consists of a house in High Street, Wallingford, the late toll-house, land at Benson, and on the north and south of the bridge, including the plot of ground called Port Royal on the west side of the river. There were also several sums of Consols, amounting together to £3571 17s. 8d., which have been sold and the

proceeds advanced on mortgage to the corporation as the urban sanitary authority, and to the governors of Bigg's Grammar Schools, and there is a rent-charge of 10s. issuing out of three houses in the Lower Green in St. Leonard's parish. The net annual income from these sources on an average of years amounts to £129 12s. 10d., and is applicable exclusively to the repair and maintenance of the bridge.

RAMBLES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

DURING the last few years Wallingford has become a favourite resort during the summer and autumn months. Every year the numbers appear to increase, and the last two seasons brought into the town a greater influx of visitors, including many foreigners, than on any previous occasion. The river and the historical associations of the place are the greatest attractions, while to those who make a more lengthened stay, the invigorating air of the neighbouring downs, some seven or eight hundred feet above the sea-level, with the British, Roman, and Saxon remains, the pleasant rambles through forests of beech on the Chiltern hills, and the attractive walks around the town in all directions, give to this district a peculiar charm which few towns possess within comparatively so short a distance from the great metropolis. It may, therefore, be useful to note some of the routes by which these and other objects of interest around may be best observed, not omitting in a few instances a reference to the ancient history of the locality.

Let us suppose our pedestrian friend, with knapsack on back, bent on excursions to the balmy downs. A walk of two and a quarter miles, or by train or cycle, will take him to Cholsey, Ceol's ey, or island, which belonged to the kings of Wessex, and was conveyed by Alfred the Great to the abbey of Winchester. Here stood a monastery founded in 986 by Ethelred the Unready, as an atonement for the murder of his half-brother, Edward the Martyr. This expiatory monastery was destroyed by the Danes in 1006, together with the village, on their victorious march from Wallingford, which they had burnt down, to Cwichelms Hlawe after-mentioned. Here at Cholsey the abbots of Reading had their summer residence granted to them by Henry I., and here the monks of Reading and Abingdon garnered their shares of the harvest in a monster brick

barn, 303 feet long, 54 feet wide, and 51 feet high, a small portion of which near the "Forty" may still be seen. It dates from A.D. 1101. The church, in the building of which materials from the monastery were used, is of great length, and of considerable archæological interest. The plan is cruciform, with a tower in the centre, resting on massive Early Norman arches; the nave and transepts are also of the Norman period; while the chancel, which is Early English, is of unusually grand proportions. There are several brasses in the church with French and Latin inscriptions dating back to 1361. The church was repaired and the chancel restored at a cost of £1200 a few years ago. The yew tree in the churchyard is of great age and size.

About two miles further on will land him on the downs near "Ye Kynge's Standynge Hill," where, according to tradition, Alfred pitched his tent at the famous battle of Ashdown or Æscendun, which ended in the defeat of the Danes with such terrible slaughter. Although several places have been mentioned as the site of the battle, the evidence adduced in the former history appears to show conclusively the locality of Æscendun, and goes far to prove that the hilly down above Aston, which extends westward from the parish of Cholsey, was the Æscendun on which the great battle was fought. At what particular part the decisive blow was struck is a matter of conjecture. That the king and his brother, after their defeat near Reading, rallied their forces and retired to the downs—to the home-quarters, we may suppose, of Alfred—admits of little doubt, and tradition and probability point to the neighbourhood of King's Standing Hill as the spot where the first clash of arms took place. But the Danes had secured the higher ground; King Ethelred, according to tradition, was too intent on his devotions in the little chapel of Aston Upthorpe to march to the assistance of his brother till his prayers were finished; and Asser tells us that the battle was a bloody and obstinate one, and that many thousands were killed, dispersed over the wide plain of Æscendun. The struggle must, therefore, have extended over a large area, and it is not an unreasonable conclusion that the victory was gained nearer Compton, probably at Lowberry or Loughborough Hill, which is the

only hill of note in the middle of a large unbroken tract of down.*

The Rev. R. Hooper, Rector of Aston Upthorpe, informs me that a Saxon spindle-whorl in fine preservation was found in digging a grave in the churchyard some years ago, and that previously they had come upon an Anglo-Saxon grave.

Following the "Fair Mile" from King's Standing in a south-westerly direction, this Lowberry Hill will be reached in less than two miles; it is the highest point on the eastern range of downs, being eight hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea. On the top are still discernible slight traces of a strong Roman camp, which commanded a view of twelve military entrenchments; and six or seven counties are now embraced within the view. Roman coins, pottery, tesserae, and oyster-shells in great abundance have been found in and around the hill. The British trackway called the Ridgeway or Upper Icknield skirts Lowberry, stretches across the downs towards the Slad and onwards, its original destination being Cornwall and the Land's End. By the side of the Ridgeway is a continuous chain of barrows. Having explored this part of the downs, our friend may wish to retrace his steps and return by way of the railway from Cholsey, leaving Blewberton Camp, which is about two and a half miles north of Lowberry, for another day's excursion.

BLEWBURY.

This straggling village, six miles from Wallingford, is situated at the foot of the now famous Churn Downs, about one and a half mile from the Upton station of the Didcot and Newbury Railway. The church with its massive Anglo-Norman architecture (about 1180) possesses many features of architectural and antiquarian interest, especially the stone groined roof in the chancel, and one of its original windows, the carved oak-screens, the two ancient prayer-desks still

* Mr. Walter Morrison, in his late interesting contribution to the Newbury Field Club on the site of the battle, has narrowed the points of controversy on grounds that appear to be indisputable, and he expresses the opinion that the King's Standing site has the most arguments in its favour.

more elaborately carved, the venerable south door with its huge wooden lock and fine early English ironwork, together with several brasses to the old family of Latten, and other ancient families. The Lattens had a seat at Upton in this parish so early as the year 1324, where they continued up to part of the sixteenth century. The brass of John Latten is on the chancel floor, with effigies of himself, his wife, and six out of their fourteen children named in the inscription. On a mutilated brass are the figures of Sir John and Lady Daunce; and a large floor slab in the tower, much worn, is to the memory of John Boulder, who died in 1499. The south-west pier in the church contains a flight of stone steps leading to an open archway on the right of the nave, which formed the entrance to the rood loft.

Blewbury still observes the statute of Edward VI., which ordered certain religious books to be kept in every parish. Those in this church are Udal's edition of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament (1548), and Bishop Jewel's Defence of his "Apology for the Church of England" (1565). These books are partly bound with brass, and attached by chains to the south prayer-desk. Ashmole states that in his time they were chained to a monument. Before printing was introduced into this country by the London mercer Caxton, books were rare and of great value, hence the chain precaution to prevent their being stolen. On the north desk is an illuminated quarto book, also partly bound with brass, dated 1616, entitled "The Genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, according to every Family and Tribe, with the Line of our Saviour Jesus Christ observed from Adam to the blessed Virgin Mary, by J. S."

Notwithstanding the renovations that have taken place, very much of the original structure remains.

In the church tower is a clock and six bells, the earliest bearing the date 1586.

A story is told of an eccentric character known as the Blewbury miser, named Morgan Jones. He is said to have been a former curate of the parish, and to have died worth about £40,000. His sermons were written on scraps of paper, sometimes torn from the walls, and his single shirt was washed while he lay in bed, following, probably, the example of his neighbour at Marcham.

Another story refers to a little village inn of evil reputation in former days. The landlord was suspected of robbing and murdering his guests, and disposing of their bodies in such a mysterious way that he was enabled to evade detection. There is a public-house in the place known by the sign of the "Load of Mischief," which, no doubt, has a curious tale to tell, but not in connection with the above.

BLEWBERTON CAMP.

This camp occupies a commanding position about a mile from the village. It measures 1225 feet by 440 across, and adjoins Aston Upton, four miles from Wallingford. The Harwell and Streatley main road passes through the village of Blewbury, runs along the foot of the downs by Blewberton and King's Standing hills, and intersects Halfpenny Lane, which leads to Cholsey.

Hagbourn Hill, with the circular barrow close by, is another conspicuous object on the downs between the village of that name and Chilton. It joins the Lower Icknield Way on the south, and is rendered interesting by the discovery, some years ago, of numerous celts and other antiquities, and a beautiful bronze spear-head, pronounced to be of British formation, having circular holes for the insertion of a string, wherewith to withdraw the weapon after having been hurled at the enemy. Some ninety years ago several oblong pits were found at this spot, which were supposed to be aboriginal.

Further west may be seen Cwichelmes Hawe, commonly called Cuckamsley or Scuchamore Knob, the highest ground on the central downs being eight hundred feet above the sea-level. My late learned friend, the Rev. A. D. Crake, B.A., Vicar of Cholsey, and the author of several works of great antiquarian interest, including "Brian Fitzcount," a tale of Wallingford Castle, refers to the tumulus of huge dimensions which arose on the summit as being over the remains of the Saxon king Cwichelm, and in this opinion most authorities agree. He adds, he was "son of Cynigils, and grandson of Ceol, who dwelt in the isle of Ceol or Ceolsage, and left his name to Cholsey."

Grimsbury Castle, in the woods of Wellhouse, a hamlet of

Hampstead Norris, is too far off for a pedestrian ramble. It is a circular camp, and must have been of extraordinary strength.

But go where you will, entrenchments, barrows, and dykes overspread the downs. The tumuli of large size, particularly those of an elongated form, are said to belong to the Celtic period, and those of an inferior size to the Anglo-Saxon. Barrows were not always sepulchral. It has been supposed that the Romans erected tumuli on high points of land, to guide their legions and travellers to their respective stations, at a time when the lowlands were encumbered with wood, as was the case here.

Traces of British and early Roman settlements are to be seen at Perborough, Unhill, and Cotmere; while the Devil's Ditch, which runs parallel with the Ridgeway, is a well-known name on the downs often associated with British occupation.

After all, the great charm of the downs is the beauty and extent of the landscape, and the bracing and invigorating properties of the air. At all parts on the high ground there is something to arrest attention, and very little to confine the view, except in the rather distant south, where Unhill on the other side of a deep and wide valley, with its dense wood, stretches for about two miles along the adjoining ridge. This gives variety to the scene, for on the downs proper there is scarcely a solitary tree; a worn-out hedge bounds the "Fair Mile" on the way to Lowberry, and to the race-horse training district of Ilsley. Now and then a shepherd tending his flocks will put you in the right track, but a mariner's compass on the open downs is all-important. A more direct way back will be through Aston (the Eastone or East Town of Domesday) and South Moreton and old More Lane.

SINODUN HILLS.

About three miles on the north-west of the town, are the twin hills called Wittenham Clumps, but in ancient times Sinodun. Their quaint round tops, crowned with spreading beech, are landmarks for miles around. On approaching the hills from the Little Wittenham road, a deep oval fosse

some fifteen feet wide at bottom will be observed surrounding the eastern hill, with outer and inner ramparts. The entrenchments conform to the outline of the hill, as is generally the characteristic of British work, and although we are told that this extensive fortification was due to some unknown defenders, we shall probably be not far wrong if we regard it as a British work, afterwards made use of by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes. From the top the views are grand and beautiful, comprising an extent of country as far as the eye can reach. Down in the valley to the northward, the Thames winds its silent silvery course; and just beyond, the grand old abbey church of Dorchester stands out in bold relief, a noble object; further down the stream lay Bensington, Wallingford, and many villages; and more to the north-west Abingdon is distinctly traced; and beyond Newnham, embowered in woods, one catches, it is said, through a solitary opening, a glimpse of the spires of Oxford, though this I have never had the good fortune to discover. On the eastern horizon is the range of the Chilterns, covered with thick beech forest; and in the far distance is the high land above Brill, in Buckinghamshire. Turning southward to the Berkshire downs, the eye embraces the district already described, and the famous site of Alfred's struggles with the Danes. The lonely mount in the distance is Cwiclem. Further west is Wantage, the birthplace of the great Alfred; and beyond rises the ancient beacon "Faringdon Folly;" and at a lower elevation on a clear day may be discovered the White Horse range of hills. The huge ill-shaped horse cut out in the chalk is an attractive object from the Great Western Railway near Uffington, and, lest our visitor should travel that way, it may be interesting to note the strong resemblance the figure bears to the barbarous-shaped horse on the early British coins. This resemblance goes far to show that the figure is not a monument commemorative of victory, as is generally supposed, but of the conversion to Christianity of the Saxons, who, following the Celtic tribes, adopted the "sacred white horse" as a badge and national symbol.

The village of Little Wittenham is situated at the foot of the western slope, and belonged, with the hills and adjoining lands, to the before-mentioned family of the Dunches, who

were allied to Oliver Cromwell, and connected with Wallingford. In their time and later the hills were known as "Mother Bunch." The church is a handsome structure, and contains the monuments of the Dunch family. On its lofty tower will be observed a large square-margined stone, on which is carved in bold relief the "ace of spades." According to the legend, a gambler built the tower as a thank-offering on his recovery from a dangerous illness. It is not unlikely that the figure represents his crest, and may have given rise to the legend.

The river scenery is very attractive from the high ground on the right of the church. Below is the site of the supposed ancient ford, and along the valley are traces of what is reputed to be a Roman road. Just beyond is Day's lock on the Thames, and a bridge by which the river is crossed to the opposite side towards Dorchester. It may be, however, that our visitor has braved the steep slopes of Sinodun, and descended the hill into the extensive wood and fox-cover at the base, and if so he may wend his way home from the south of the wood by following the footpath along the side of Solwell Hill to the main road; or, if he finds himself on the north of the wood, he will be in close proximity to the river, and a row down stream, or a walk along the towpath, will take him to Wallingford in about four or five miles.

DORCHESTER AND THE DYKE HILLS.

Dorchester was undoubtedly a Roman station, and a place of importance in after-times, at least ecclesiastically. It may be reached from Wallingford by river, or in four miles by the old Oxford and London road; but before entering the village, the

Dorchester Dykes

on the left claim attention. Their origin is unknown. Like Grimsdyke, at Nuffield, they consist of a double bank with a deep trench in the middle, and run in a straight line for about nine hundred yards between the river Isis, as the upper Thames from about this point is called, and the Thame stream. The entrenchment does not now quite reach the latter point, owing probably to a shifting of the

stream, but it encloses in the curve of the river an area of three-quarters of a mile in length and one-fourth in breadth, in the middle of which may be seen slight traces of a somewhat large semicircular camp. Various are the opinions respecting these earthworks. According to some authors, they formed the boundary of the ancient kingdom of Cunobeline, whose coins have been found in the neighbourhood. The late Rev. W. C. Macfarlane, Vicar of Dorchester, calls them the remnants of British independence, and he notes that they served as a burying-place for the heathen Saxons. Others attribute their construction, about A.D. 43, to Aulus Plantius, with a view to the reduction of Sinodun; but we can hardly imagine that the Roman general under Claudius would have selected the low marshy ground of the dykes with any hope of a successful attack on the Britons, entrenched on the strong camp of Sinodun, some two hundred and fifty feet higher, and which entirely overlooked and commanded the lower ground. Besides, there are good grounds, as previously stated, for supposing that the battle took place nearer Wallingford; and then, to make the chain of hypothesis complete, the Danes and Mercian Saxons are said to have been the authors of these dykes. General Pitt Rivers and Dr. Stevens, who has written an able paper on the subject, regard both Sinodun and the dykes as British, and the weight of evidence appears to be strongly in their favour. Looking at the position, it may reasonably be assumed that the dykes in Roman times were connected with the defence of Roman Dorchester; or, if a ford then existed, that they were used to cover the passage and to keep open the communication. There is, however, little to support either the one theory or the other.

DORCHESTER.

From the dykes a walk over the long and substantial bridge lands the tourist at Dorchester, the Cair Douri of the aboriginal Britons, and the Civitas Durocina of their Romanized descendants. It was here that Christianity was first introduced into these parts by Birinus, A.D. 634. He was an Italian priest, and baptized at Dorchester Cynagills, King of the West Saxons, who founded the bishopric and

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made Birinus the first bishop. The see extended over the greater part of the West Saxon dominions, this "city" being the central point. The abbey was founded in 1140 by the Bishop of Lincoln, for Black Canons of the order of St. Augustine, and richly endowed, but on its suppression the whole of its possessions were alienated by Henry VIII.

There is much to interest in the abbey church; the Jesse window, the Norman doorway and buttresses, the elaborate tracery, the stone stalls, the groined roofs, and the fresco painting are all in their way attractive, and the ancient font of cast lead in three divisions must not be overlooked. As Mr. Macfarlane says, the building tells its own tale. It begins with the Saxon episcopate of the eleventh century, and goes through the whole of the pre-Reformation period, giving beautiful examples of every style of architecture.

SOTWELL AND BRIGHTWELL.

A pleasant walk over the Slade end fields leads to these adjoining villages, in which are many private residences. Among those recently erected is the handsome residence of Mr. Edward Fairthorne, who has done much for the improvement of the villages and the social wants of the inhabitants. The pretty little church of Sotwell was rebuilt some few years ago, and is now attached to the Rectory of Brightwell, after having been annexed to St. Leonard's, Wallingford, from an early date.

Brightwell takes its name from the springs at the upper or eastern end of the village, which rarely fail to supply a constant stream of clear water from the chalk. In this parish stood the castle, which in 1153 was delivered up by King Stephen to Henry II., then Duke of Normandy, pursuant to the agreement made between them when peace was concluded at Wallingford. In the church are a few brasses and a monument of Robert Court, who died in 1529, sometime auditor to Prince Arthur. He was possessed of the Manor of Mackney in this parish, and built a house there for his residence, called Mackney Court, a portion of which still remains. The property was afterwards inherited by his nephew, Mr. Molyns, who was a member of the family

of that name previously mentioned. The tower of the church was rebuilt in 1797, and the church restored in 1858.

Following the main road, we reach

NORTH MORETON,

four miles west from Wallingford. Besides the church there is nothing to interest. The south aisle is called Stapleton's Chantry, and has a fine old window which preserves some good early glass. There are in the church two mutilated tombs with Saxon inscriptions, and two other ancient tombs of ecclesiastics with processional crosses, but without date. There is also a curious angle piscina. Sir Miles Stapleton was the last heir of this family, and died in 1467, his ancestors having possessed the manor for a long series of years.

SOUTH MORETON.

A mile further on is South Moreton, and it is probable that this division of the county, which is called the Hundred of Moreton, derived its name from these two parishes. The Hundred itself had a Saxon origin, and meant the embodiment in hundreds of Saxon warriors. In South Moreton were three manors, namely, Huses, Foulscot, and Saunderville, and we may reasonably suppose that these three manors, with that of North Moreton, largely supplied the one hundred families whose representatives formed themselves under one chieftain into bands of warriors for protection, defence, and other purposes.

In the old moated manor-house of Saunderville are the remains of a chapel of large dimensions, with oak beams and uprights artistically worked.

EWELME.

This picturesque village at the foot of the Chilterns is situated partly on high ground and partly on low, and is reached, if on foot, by a walk through Howbery Park, or by a footway over the fields, in either case turning to the left through Crowmarsh churchyard. In former times it was a

place of consequence, with which, as we have seen, many great names in history were associated. Kings were guests in its palace, which was called Ewelme Court, and when the Earl of Essex was banished from the court of Elizabeth, Ewelme was his place of retirement; but it is probable he resided in the other mansion called Manor Place, or Ewelme Lodge, which belonged at that time to his uncle, William Knollys, as keeper of the park. From the description in Leland, there was nothing imposing in this building, but it was beautifully situated at the top of the Chilterns, near what is now called Ewelme Park Farm. Keeper of Ewelme Park and the "wild beasts therein" was a coveted crown appointment in connection with the constableness of Wallingford Castle.

A never-failing stream from the chalk hills rises in numerous springs at the upper end of the village, and flows rapidly by the side of the street in a strong volume, through water-cress beds and private grounds to its confluence with the Thames just above the weir, nearly two miles distant. In its course the grounds of Fifield House, formerly a nunnery, afford protection for trout of large size. At Benson, a famous place in the old coaching days, and more famous still in Saxon times, it worked a corn-mill, now discontinued, filling a mill-pond of unusual size. The water-cress beds at Ewelme succeed each other at different levels; they are valuable and of high repute, supplying distant and neighbouring markets. "Ewelme water-cress" was a familiar London cry years ago. The church, rebuilt by the Duke of Suffolk, is a handsome building, principally in the Perpendicular style, with a fine interior, which contains, besides several brasses, the alabaster tomb of Chaucer's granddaughter, Alice Duchess of Suffolk, and the tomb of her father and mother and other members of the family, as previously stated (*temp.* Henry VI.). On the Chaucer tomb are twenty-four shields with armorial bearings, showing the collateral connections of the Chaucer family, a custom not unusual in former times.

Adjoining the church are the picturesque old almshouses, founded by the duke in 1437, in the form of a quadrangle, with wooden cloisters, from which a quaint old staircase leads to the rooms of the master of Ewelme Charity, who

is non-resident. At all times this interesting old place presents a picture of neatness, and in summer is gay with flowers.

Just beyond the church is Ewelme Common, and a little further on runs the old Icknield Way, which enters the county of Oxford somewhere near Littlestoke, and, skirting the Chilterns, passes in a well-defined track through the parishes of Mongewell, Newnham, Crowmarsh, Ewelme, Watlington, Shirburn, Lewknor, Aston Rowant, near Chinnor, to Kempton, where it leaves the county. The other Icknield entered the county from the downs at a point more easterly, as is generally supposed, at Streatley, or rather Goring. A charming walk or ride is afforded by pursuing this old British way towards Watlington. The first object that attracts attention is a lofty obelisk on the top of a steep hill in front of Britwell House. This interesting old mansion occupies a commanding position, from whence the Thames valley, the Berkshire downs, and Wittenham Hills form part of the landscape.

HOWBERY.

But we are wandering too far from home, and must return to Howbery. The shell of the mansion was built in 1842 by the late Mr. William Seymour Blackstone, on the site of an old mansion which belonged to the family of the Needhams. The building was completed according to the original design of the architect, Mr. Hakewell, by the purchasers, Messrs. De Mornay, who sold it, with the park and adjoining lands west of the highway, to the present proprietor, Mr. Henry Bertie Watkin Williams Wynn, J.P. The handsome structure is of the Elizabethan order, built of brick, with stone facings, and is approached from the lodge on the Benson road through an avenue of elms, and, nearer the house, of the graceful *Wellingtonia gigantea*. A vestibule and spacious hall of artistic design lead to the reception rooms, which are large and lofty, with richly ornamented ceilings. The river Thames forms the western boundary of the park to the village of Crowmarsh.

NEWNHAM AND NORTH STOKE.

A pleasant walk over the meadows leads to the little church of Newnham, *olim* Niveham, in the Honour of Wallingford. It is situated at the southern extremity of the parish, and, like Ipsden, is far away from the village, though adjoining the residence of the occupier of the extensive farm there, which belongs to Mr. Charles Hedges, of Newnham House. The parish was one of Milo Crispin's tenures, and doubtless the church was erected under his patronage (see *post*, "Ipsden"). About a quarter of a mile onwards is Mongewell, and, passing the lake on the left, the little river-side village of North Stoke is reached in about the same distance. Many Roman coins have been found in this place, and the church is worth a visit.

MONGEWELL.

A corruption, it is said, of Monkswell, but I find no warrant for the change of name. Under head of "Account of the collection of the tenth granted by the clergy in the archdeaconry of Oxford, 27-30 Henry VI.," the pension of the Prior of St. Guthlac, in the church of Mongewell, "is mentioned as a contribution to the spiritual taxation of the benefices in the deanery of Henley, which amounted to 41^{lb} iij^s iij^d per annum." The old mansion at Mongewell, on the banks of the Thames, lately pulled down, was for a long period the favourite country residence of the Hon. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1824. Within the last three or four years, the whole estate, comprising a large acreage, has passed from the Barrington and Price family by purchase to Mr. Alexander Caspar Fraser, J.P., whose father was the esteemed occupier of the house and park for many years. A new mansion, on somewhat higher ground, has been erected by the present possessor of the estate. A spacious hall, approached by marble steps, connects the handsome reception-rooms, which, in style of decoration, are unique. "Capability" Brown is said to have been the landscape gardener employed by the bishop to plant and improve the grounds; but he left them around

the house as he found them, a dead level. This has now given place to undulations, planted with choice shrubs, which add greatly to the picturesque effect of a considerable extent of ornamental ground, incorporated as it is with home and distant scenery. Another charming feature is the lake, with its sloping banks and shady walks. The water, which is intensely cold, never freezes, except slightly, close to the edge. It is supplied in great abundance from the neighbouring chalk hills by natural springs, which bubble up at the east end in the clear transparent water. The parish church, which dates from the twelfth century, is within the park, and the interior has lately undergone restoration without disturbing the portions in the Norman style.

GRIMSDYKE

may be reached on foot by the road to Hailey, which branches out of the London road (now disturnpiked) just beyond Newnham House. At a distance of about a mile, it intersects the old Icknield Way and takes an easterly direction from Mongewell, principally through woodland, to Henley-on-Thames, and appears to be a continuation of the well-marked dyke on the other side of the river, which runs over the downs for many miles. Opinions differ as to the origin of the dyke. Dr. Plot tells us that it was a Roman military road; others, with more reason, consider that it was thrown up during the Heptarchy as a line of separation between Wessex and Mercia; while the hypothesis which I think finds most favour is, that this in part ridge and trench formation was originally a work of the Celtic Britons. But, whether Celtic or Saxon, it may still have been a tribal or divisional boundary between the Thames at Mongewell and the Thames at Henley, thus forming the chord of the arc of the circle which the long bend in the river occasions.

An extension of the walk to Hailey and Ipsden would be too much for one day's pedestrian work. We will, therefore, make a little detour by Woodhouse Farm and Foxberry, and return to Wallingford through Crowmarsh Battle, where the church with its Norman doorway and massive walls is an interesting object. It is called in common parlance "the eyes, nose, and mouth church," and is said

to be one of the oldest churches in the neighbourhood. The Manor of Crowmarsh, then called Craumares, was granted by the Conqueror as a contributory endowment to the Benedictine Abbey of Battle in Sussex, which he founded as a memorial of his victory at Hastings. In later times the village was rendered famous as the stronghold of King Stephen during the fearful struggle with the Empress Maud for the crown. It would seem the manor did not comprise the whole parish, and that a portion of the lands was assigned to Walter Giffard, who had fought by the Conqueror's side. Hence the names, not yet extinct, of Crowmarsh Battle and Crowmarsh Gifford.

CHILTERN HILLS.

The Chiltern range is crossed by the London road above mentioned, which, just beyond the bridge, divides the two parishes of Crowmarsh and Newnham, and by a continuous ascent through Nuffield Common leads to Nettlebed, said to be the highest ground on this side of the Tweed, the altitude from the windmill site being nearly 850 feet above the sea-level. By a gradual descent, steep in some parts, Henley-on-Thames is reached, ten miles from Wallingford, Nettlebed being equidistant.

Two roads branch out of this London road at Nuffield Common on the north and south, and afford many attractive and diversified walks and drives.

NUFFIELD COMMON,

four miles from Wallingford, may be made the terminus of a pleasant walk, returning by the old highway on the other side near the church, which presents charming views and varied scenery. A house of friars existed at Nuffield before 23 Henry III. This extensive common is clothed with furze, fern, and bramble. The air, at an altitude of 750 feet, is very invigorating, and the views towards the east and west embrace Windsor Castle and other objects of interest, while here and in the adjoining woods wild nature is richly displayed.

SWYNCOMBE.

The road on the north-east of Nuffield Common leads to Park Corner, Cookham Common, and Swyncombe, and onwards. Swyncombe, or Swines' Combe (valley), as it was originally called, lies in a valley near the top of the Chilterns, with hill and dale and richly timbered ground all round. It derives its name from the Saxons as being a favourite hunting-district, well known as the haunt of the wild boar. The Manor of Swyncombe formed part of the Honour of Wallingford, and was possessed by Wigod, the great thane, in the time of the Conqueror, and afterwards by Milo Crispin, who married Wigod's granddaughter, and gave the manor to the Abbey of Bec, one of the most famous in France. The mansion at Swyncombe is comparatively modern, having been built by the late Rev. Charles Edmund Ruck Keene, M.A., J.P., on his inheriting the manor and the extensive family estates. The old manor-house was burnt down in 1814, owing to a beam having ignited under a hearth on which a fire had been incautiously lighted. Preparations were being made for the reception of the family, who returned the next day, but only to witness the almost total destruction of their ancient manor-house. After visiting the neighbourhood, rich in landscape, the drive back may be made either through Eweline or by the road to Wallingford, over Gould's Heath, crossing the London road from Benson at the top of Beggar-bush Hill to the upper part of the village of Crowmarsh. In the gravel-pits at Gould's Heath several cinerary urns have been found, supposed to be Saxon.

STOKEROW.

Another delightful drive takes a southern direction on the opposite side of Nuffield Common, by English Farm, through the Ipsden woods, to the little village of Stokerow, which is about 750 feet above sea-level. Here, in ornamental grounds of about four acres in extent near the church, is the "Rajah's Well," 368 feet deep, which was founded in 1863 and endowed in 1866 by the munificence of his

Highness the Maharajah of Benares. Wishing to extend to a hill district in England the great boon of a free-water supply, the rajah selected, through his friend the late Mr. Edward Anderdon Reade, C.B., the Chiltern Hills of South Oxfordshire as resembling a portion of his own Indian domains in the natural features of the scenery. The superstructure is Oriental in its design, and is inscribed with the armorial bearings and decorations of his Highness. The cherry tree, which has been extensively naturalized in the neighbourhood, abounds in the grounds, which bear the Indian name Ishree Baugh; in English, "Cherry-tree Plat." Trustees are annually appointed to carry out the provisions of the trust, under the guardianship of the Charity Commissioners. Thus the benefaction is perpetuated for the use of the district and as a memorial of the founder. We are told that this was the first local charity which Indian benevolence had given to England.

The potteries at Stokerow have been working from ancient times. This is evidenced by the number and great depth of the clay-pits within a short distance from the kilns.

In about two miles of tableland Garson's Hill is reached, by which or by Berin's Hill the return home may be made. Garson's surpasses the latter in the beauty and extent of the landscape, and is more particularly mentioned hereafter. Berin's Hill is supposed to have derived its name from Berinus, the first Bishop of Dorchester. This hill was probably the pass into the Chilterns before the Roman period. Some British coins of the Phœnician type and a great number of Roman coins from the era of Augustus to Constantine have been found, and there was a Roman well of peculiar construction, which has lately been filled up.

There is good reason to suppose that the line of Roman road between Wallingford and London was by way of Berin's Hill, through Crōwmarsh, Newnham, Grimsdyke, to and around Berin's Hill to Stokerow, round Witheridge Hill to Henley, and thence to London.

GREENHILL.

This is one of the most charming drives in the neighbourhood, extending to about ten miles going and returning. After passing Mongewell Lodge, the rich scenery commences in extensive views over the valley of the Thames. Green lanes through a beautifully wooded district succeed at the back of Braziers Park till we reach Greenhill at a considerable eminence. The road passes along the top of precipitous hills, and on the right is lined with spruce firs clothed to the base with luxuriant foliage, and on the left the thick beech woods occupy the ground for miles. Here our tourist must alight and enjoy the Swiss-like scenery from the other side of the line of firs. A wide and deep valley stretches out into the far distance, the declivities of the hills on one side being clothed with hanging woods from the top to the bottom, and on the other side a view of the adjacent country, broken only by the distant range of downs, charms the eye. Following the road to the sign-post, and turning somewhat abruptly to the left, we emerge from the wood at the top of Garson's Hill, where a splendid panorama of the opposite side of the country is presented, extending as far as eye can reach, the clumps at Wittenham being a prominent feature in the foreground.

On approaching the village of Ipsden on the way back, a singular growth of the beech trees by the side of the road will be observed. That the beech delights in dryness is evident, for in several places a network of roots supports a thin covering of earth, under which the chalk bank has been excavated for a considerable space, suggestive of a cave-like shelter for the weary traveller.

WOODCOTE COMMON.

Another favourite drive is through Ipsden, Dogmoor End, and Checkendon to Woodcote Common, which occupies the higher ground of the Chilterns, and possesses perhaps a greater extent of view, embracing the Crystal Palace and other objects of interest, than any other spot in this district.

IPSDEN.

Ipsden, *olim* Yppesdune, the birthplace of Charles Reade, the author, occupies a pleasant situation on high undulating ground, and has been possessed by the family of the Reades for several generations. The church is at least a mile from the village, and its foundation was probably due to the monks of the Abbey of Bec. The whole district of Ipsden and the Stokes from the Thames to the uplands (annexed to the Honour of Wallingford) was parcelled out by the Conqueror and granted to his Norman followers. A considerable portion fell to the lot of Milo Crispin (*ante*, p. 19), who assigned twelve hundred acres with woodland in this parish to the monks of Bec, of whom Milo's half-brother was one, and Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been prior of the order previous to his elevation to the primacy in 1070. The monks possessed vast influence in this country as well as in France for nearly three centuries, and were renowned for their missionary zeal and architectural science. Under these circumstances it is scarcely open to doubt that Ipsden and other neighbouring churches owed their origin to Milo and his Benedictine associates, but why the site selected was in so isolated a spot is a question which, if the reader possesses an antiquarian turn of mind, he may be enabled to solve. Can it have been a pilgrim church? Its proximity to Berin's Hill pass, and to the Icknield Way and Roman Portway, favours the idea; and had the period been some seventy years later, we might picture a procession of pilgrims wending their way to Canterbury, and halting at the sacred edifice. But perhaps it is more reasonable to suppose that the site was selected on rising ground as a conspicuous centre for a church in relation to this and other neighbouring Norman tenures. The termination "Stoke" in the three adjoining villages of North Stoke, Little Stoke, and South Stoke denotes a Saxon settlement, which followed the establishment of village communities by the Saxons after they had been converted to Christianity by St. Augustine and his forty monks.

PEPPARD.

For a long day's drive, Nettlebed may be made the central point, thence by Hymore, leaving Witheridge Hill on the right, to Rotherfield Peppard, commonly called Peppard, from Roger Pipard, who *temp.* Henry III. held it as a part of six knights' fees belonging to the Honour of Wallingford. The other Rotherfield has the addition of Greys, from John de Grey, Baron of Rotherfield, who held the manor. In after-times the manor belonged to the family of Knollys before mentioned. Sir William Knollys, who was constable of the Castle of Wallingford, was created Baron of Greys in 1603. From Peppard the more interesting and direct way home would be by Checkendon, Braziers Park, and Red Lane.

There are many other interesting excursions within easy distance and to places further off that cannot be described within a limited space ; but to the lovers of nature, hours may be pleasantly spent in wandering about the woods, inhaling the fragrant life-giving air and the aromatic scent of the firs scattered about in large patches here and there, among the beech, the holly, and the yew, and in listening to the delightful music of the birds. Even the plaintive notes of the wood-pigeons and doves, the clatter and chatter of the jay and magpie, and the crowing of the blackbirds, are not without a charm. All else is solitude, broken only by the rustling of the leaves, the hobbling rabbit, and the skipping about of the squirrels from tree to tree ; and then there is an interest in watching the quiet movements of the living things about your path.

Wild flowers, including the bee and other orchids, abound, the margin of the woods being their natural home ; and next we light upon a group of cottages, where rural life may be seen in all its simplicity ; and the long-obscured landscape bursts upon us, and reveals the extent and beauties of the adjacent country stretched out below. But I am afraid all this enjoyment belongs to the naturalist of the old school, and is looked upon with something approaching ridicule by many of the biologists of the present day, who take but little interest in animated nature, save that in connection with the laboratory or some physiological investigation.

Before we leave the Chilterns, it may be well to add that the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, so often mentioned in the preceding pages in connection with the Honour of Wallingford, has now become a nominal office under the crown, at the salary of 20s. per annum, by the acceptance of which, as is well known, a member of Parliament is enabled to vacate his seat, the office having been held to be a place of honour and profit, incompatible with a seat in the House. The origin of the office dates from an early period when the beech forests were infested by robbers and wild beasts, and a master hand was required at a substantial salary to put them down.

STREATLEY AND GORING.

These villages on either side of the Thames are reached in about six miles by river, rail, or road. On approaching them a singular illusion presents itself. The downs from distant Wiltshire and the Chilterns, which stretch through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, appear to form one continuous range without break or gorge, but at Streatley the river runs right through these high hills, and one must reach the village to realize the fact. Streatley takes its name from *stratum*, "a street," and it is said to have been a Roman station. Situated in the midst of charming scenery, with the famous Streatley Hill on the south, the weir, the mills, and the bridge, these villages are a favourite resort during the summer and autumn, particularly of artists, and boating and sketching parties; but it must be confessed that the rural Goring of ten years ago is fast disappearing, owing to the number of villa residences and houses of a superior class that are springing up in all parts, and to some extent this is the case at Streatley also. A row down stream to Hart's Wood Reach should not be missed. It is, perhaps, one of the choicest bits of river scenery to be met with hereabouts next to Clivedon and the Quarry woods. The hanging Hart's Wood, clothed with trees to the water's edge, is much frequented, like Streatley Hill, by picnic-parties, who appear in every variety of costume. Streatley Hill is the termination of the Berkshire downs, and the varied and extensive views from the top will well repay a climb up.

Goring was a choice possession of Wigod of Wallingford, who is said to have retained it till his death, after having relinquished the castle and honour. It has been surmised that the influence of the Prioress of Goring suggested this reservation. The interesting conventual church dates from the time of the Normans, and has a fine Norman tower.

ALDWORTH.

If our pedestrian tourist be able-bodied, he may prolong his ramble (but it would probably be too much for one day) *via* Westridge, through hill and dale and noble woods, to the village of Aldworth, which is a little over two miles from Streatley. The manor once belonged to the family of the De la Beeches, Flemings who came over with the Conqueror, whose monuments, nine in number, in the church are objects of much interest. They consist of six recumbent stone effigies of knights in armour, of large size, five of which are represented as crusaders or Knights Templars, having their legs crossed; one is in ordinary attire, and two are female figures. Several of the monuments are disposed under enriched decorated canopies, and are supposed to have been executed in the fourteenth century. Three of them are designated by the villagers, John Long, John Strong, and John Never-afraid. One of the family, Sir Nicholas, was tutor to the Black Prince, and died in 1347; and another was Sir Edmund, who was concerned in the attempt, as stated previously, to release Lords Berkeley and Audley from Wallingford Castle, and was taken a prisoner to Pomfret Castle for the conspiracy. In the churchyard is an enormous yew tree, which is said to be upwards of one thousand years old, and in its prime to have shaded an acre of ground. It measures, at four feet from the turf, no less than nine yards in circumference. The public well, facing the Bell Inn, is three hundred and seventy feet in depth.

A more direct way of getting to and from this sequestered village is by the old turnpike road through the pretty village of Moulsoford, on the Thames, which belongs to Mr. Hopewell Morrell, J.P. The church dates from the fourteenth century, and was enlarged in 1847. This now "main" road runs

through scenery embracing wood and water, hill and dale, and connects the towns of Reading and Wallingford. On the river side of the road, about half a mile from the village, on the way to Wallingford, is the lunatic asylum for the county of Berks, which was opened in 1870, and designed for about three hundred patients. It has since been enlarged for the reception of over five hundred—such is the increase of lunacy among the pauper population.

WALLINGFORD CASTLE.

The name is rather misleading as applied to this comparatively modern house, which is Elizabethan in style without any crenelated work ; but the residence on this historic spot has been known for centuries as Wallingford Castle, and now, under the Act of Parliament which constituted all extra-parochial places into parishes, the statutory title is Precincts of Wallingford Castle. The old house was a somewhat rambling structure situated between the rampart banks of the first and second moats. The rooms were low, with huge oak beams under the ceilings supporting the floors. Up to about seventy years ago it was the residence of the then owner, a gentleman of rather secluded habits, whose classical library was his great delight. On his death, the author's father purchased the property. Surrounded by high walls and the moats on all sides, except the east, which was effectually barricaded by the ruins of St. Nicholas College and a large malt-house, the congenial solitude of the place was secured, and it became in the time of the learned gentleman a sort of *terra incognita*, to which strange stories were attached ; but the only one that survived the rebuilding of the house and the remodelling of the premises was that of the ghost in the adjoining grounds. Here in an avenue, darkened by a double row of large overgrown elms, was to be seen occasionally at midnight a luminous figure, with just enough of apparent substance to create a belief of reality. After a time some of these trees were felled, when the ghost suddenly vanished, and the fact was revealed that the "evil spirit" which had kept alive the popular credulity up to some forty or fifty years ago was nothing more than a shadow, which a singular opening in the dense foliage of

the trees formed into shape when the moon was in a certain position.

Turning from the inanimate to the animate, a less welcome loss was brought about by the alterations that were made.

A numerous family of owls had enjoyed for ages the undisturbed possession of the ruins. It was interesting to watch their movements and to note their regular habits of flight just as the sombre hour of twilight commenced ; but, with the removal of the malt-house, the whole tribe left their long-accustomed home. For some time they were seen occasionally perched in a row on the top rail of a neighbouring fence, and now a solitary owl appears to represent the family, taking the same round of flight, and making the flagstaff on the ruin his favourite resting-place, as if to assert a claim to the lost possession.

At the beginning of the last century the castle precincts were let by the crown on lease to Thomas Renda, who represented the borough in parliament in the years 1709 and 1712. In the lease mention is made of the prison house. The estate afterwards came into the possession of William Hucks, who represented the borough in four succeeding parliaments. A portion of it was acquired by purchase from the crown by the late Dr. Blackstone, whose son, William Seymour Blackstone, inherited the property, and was the parliamentary representative for many years. The other portion was acquired, as before stated, by the late John Allnatt Hedges, from whom, and by purchase, the entire estate has now passed under one ownership, and let us hope, for the sake of the associations, it may long be kept intact.

THE END.

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